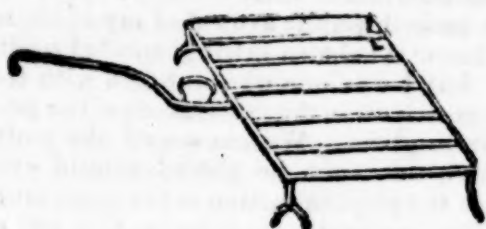


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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FLOGGING SOLDIERS.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Kensington, 21st June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

You, who remember what I suffered for expressing my indignation at the flogging of the poor young fellows of the Local Militia, at the town of ELY, under a guard of GERMAN bayonets; you, who recollect that transaction, and who recollect that Messrs. LEIGH and JOHN HUNT, and Mr. DRAKARD, the editor of the *Stamford News*, were all most severely punished soon afterwards for expressing their horror of the military floggings; you, who recollect this, will be delighted at the address to the King from the House of Commons, agreed to on the 19th instant, beseeching the King to suspend the flogging of soldiers until the next session of Parliament. I shall presently have to insert the debate which took place on that occasion, and the very interesting statement made by Mr. HUME; but it is necessary, first, to give a history of the cause of the discussion which led to the adoption of the address.

It was stated, some time back, that some soldiers of the regiment of SCOTS GREYS, lying at BIRMINGHAM, had joined the POLITICAL UNION there, and had caused their names to be enrolled. This circumstance having been mentioned in the *London Weekly Dispatch*, a soldier of the SCOTS GREYS, whose name is SOMERVILLE, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Dispatch*, which that editor, in his excellent paper of the 17th June, gives to his readers in the following words:

"Sir," says Mr. Somerville, "as a private in the Scots Greys, I have certainly the means of knowing fully the opinions that pervade the rank in which I serve. It was surely true that a few sent their names to the roll of the Political Union; but let no man think that those who refrained from doing so cared less for the interests of their country. I, for one, made no such public avowal of my opinion,—for I knew it to be an infringement of military law; but I was one who watched with trembling anxiety the movements of the people of Birmingham. We knew well the position in which we might be placed should events require the physical action of the community; for, while we ventured to hope that any collision between the civil and military forces would be prevented by the moral energies of the former, we could not help betraying a fear that the unprincipled and lawless might take the opportunity of the turn in affairs to commit outrages on property,—in which case we should have certainly considered ourselves as soldiers, bound to put down such disorderly conduct. This, I say, we should have certainly felt to have been our duty; but against the liberties of our countrymen we would have never, never, never raised an arm! The Scots Greys have honourably secured a high character in the defence of their country, and they would be the last to degrade themselves below the dignity of British soldiers in acting as the tools of a tyrant. The Duke of Wellington may, if he sees or hears of this, assure himself, that military Government shall never be again set up in this country."

This letter was published in the *Weekly Dispatch*; and it appears to have been suspected that Somerville was the author of it. A report got abroad that he was the author. Soon after this report began to prevail, we are informed by the editor of the *Dispatch*, that "SOMERVILLE was picked out from the ranks, and directed to perform, with an unbroken horse, an exercise which, even with the best-trained horses, is one of some difficulty. He was unable to perform the exercise, and dismounted: he was ordered to mount and try again; he replied that he would not, for that the thing was impracticable. Here was disobedience, undoubtedly; but how far it was a disobedience deserving of punishment will depend on the answers which can be given to two or

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“three questions which naturally suggest themselves. Was the feat which Somerville was ordered to perform *really practicable or not*? Was it ordered in the regular course of exercise, and as a thing *needful to be done*? Did *any other soldier* of the regiment do that which Somerville failed in doing? Was *any other soldier* asked *to attempt it*?”

For this disobedience of orders, SOMERVILLE was imprisoned, in order to his being tried by a court-martial for his disobedience. It appears, from the statements in the *DISPATCH*, that SOMERVILLE is a man of excellent character; that this was his *first offence*; that he was rather exemplary than otherwise in his general behaviour. After he had been imprisoned for this disobedience of orders, it is stated that he was brought before Major WYNDHAM, his commanding officer, and questioned by him relative to the letter in the *DISPATCH*, of which he at once acknowledged himself to be the author, re-avowing all the sentiments that it contained. Directly afterwards he was taken before a court-martial, tried for the *disobedience of orders*, and sentenced to receive TWO HUNDRED LASHES; one hundred of which were laid upon him, and the other hundred reserved for future infliction; or, at least, no mention is made of that other hundred having been matter of *pardon*, of which I shall speak by-and-by, when I come to notice what GRANT and little HOBHOUSE said upon this part of the subject. I will now insert this most interesting debate, and then subjoin such remarks as the occasion appears to me to demand.

MILITARY FLOGGINGS.

Mr. HUME presented two petitions—one from the National Political Union, St. George, Westminster, taking notice of the flogging of a soldier of the Scots Greys, and praying inquiry; the other was from Mr. Smith, the Editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*. This latter detailed the case of — Somerville, a private in the Scots Greys, who had, under colour of another offence, but in reality for having declared certain opinions in the *Dispatch*, been tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. The sentiments he had declared were these.—“As a private of that regiment, I have certainly the means

of knowing fully the opinions which pervade the rank in which I serve. It was surely true that a few sent their names to the roll of the Political Union; but let no man think that those who refrained from doing so, cared less for the interests of their country. I, for one, made no such public avowal of my opinions—for I knew it to be an infringement of military law; but I was one who watched with trembling anticipation the movements of the people of Birmingham. We knew well the position in which we might be placed should events require the physical action of the community; for while we ventured to hope that any collision between the civil and military forces would be prevented by the moral energy of the former, we could not help betraying a fear that the unprincipled and lawless, who are ever either more or less to be found, might take the opportunity of the turning of affairs to commit outrages on property, in which instance we would certainly have considered ourselves, as soldiers, bound to put down such disorderly conduct. This, I say, we would certainly have felt to have been our duty; but against the liberties of our country, we would have never, never, never raised an arm! The Scots Greys have honourably secured a high character in defence of their country, and they would be the last to degrade themselves below the dignity of British soldiers in acting as the tools of a tyrant.”

“On the arrival of the *Dispatch* at Birmingham, where the Scots Greys were stationed, it became known to Major Wyndham, the commanding-officer, that A. Somerville was the writer. That shortly afterwards he was sent for by Major Wyndham, and privately subjected to a series of interrogatories with respect to the letter which he was reported to have written; that Major Wyndham demanded of him whether he was not the author of the ‘libel on the Scots Greys, which had appeared in the *Dispatch*,’ to which Somerville at once frankly answered he was the writer of the letter alluded to, but that he did not consider it any libel.

“That on this Major Wyndham broke out into a strain of great abuse of the letter, declaring the sentiments it contained to be abominable and inflammatory—calculated to encourage the Political Unions, which, he said, were illegal, and the mob, to break the peace, which it was the duty of the military to preserve; that Somerville had, in writing it, been guilty of treason to the King, by whom he was paid; that soldiers had no right to form opinions on any political subject whatever; and that their only duty was obedience.

“That Somerville replied, that he could not see how there was any treason in saying that the Scots Greys would never fight against the liberties of their country; that he considered soldiers were not paid by the King, but by the people, and sworn only to be faithful to the King in his capacity of Head of the People; that he thought it had been admitted by his Majesty’s Ministers that there was nothing

illegal in the Political Unions, constituted as they had hitherto been; and that so far from wishing to encourage the mob to violence, he had said, in the letter complained of, that he and his comrades would, under any circumstances, consider it to be their duty to put down all outrages on property.

"That Major Wyndam still persisted in pronouncing Somerville to have been guilty of most unjustifiable conduct, and dismissed him with these emphatic words:—'But, my lad, you are now where you will repent of it.'

"That five minutes after this preliminary interrogation, Somerville was arraigned before a court-martial, for the disobedience of orders before mentioned, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes on his bare back.

"That two hours after, one hundred of the number of lashes awarded were inflicted upon him in the presence of the assembled regiment, and that he now remains in confinement, awaiting the infliction of the remainder of this most cruel and ignominious punishment.

"That Somerville had never before been tried or punished for any offence whatever, having always conducted himself with impeached correctness and steadiness."

Mr. HUNT prayed the indulgence of the House, while he brought this subject under the notice of the House. He was sure that it was not more reprobated by humanity than it was injurious to the service. He regretted that it was not taken up by those able men who formerly had brought this question under the notice of the House. He could say nothing on this subject from his own authority; and should say it before the House on the authority of facts stated by others. He had heard with disgust and horror of the treatment of our army. Fifteen years ago he remembered that two privates of the 15th Dragoons, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, he believed, put themselves to death to escape flogging. He should advert to a letter addressed to the honourable Baronet, the member for Westminster, by a man who had been 40 years in the army, and a drummer for eight years, and during those eight years he had been employed thrice a week in flogging others. This letter was addressed by Mr. Shipp to Sir F. Burdett, and was called "A Voice from the Ranks." Mr. Ship was ready to substantiate all the facts he had mentioned on oath at the bar of the House. There were officers, members of the House, well acquainted with Mr. Shipp, but there were better amusements than listening to such debates, and they were not present. Sir John Malcolm knew Mr. Shipp. The honourable Member proceeded to quote from Mr. Shipp's letter, which stated that he never had been flogged himself. Flogging he described as well calculated to eradicate every honourable feeling. He had never known more than one man recover his honourable feelings who had once been flogged. The honourable member pro-

ceeded to quote several cases of severe punishment, to show that it hardened men. In one instance a man received 300 lashes, and then snapped his fingers at the colonel, and told him he should never get another day's work out of him. (Some laughter.) Honourable gentlemen might laugh, but if they had not hearts as hard as stone, he would make them laugh, before he had done, at the other side of their mouth. He proceeded to read several other cases from Mr. Shipp's work, proving that men of high character, who had suffered flogging for breaches of discipline, because degraded in vice, or sunk in despair, sought refuge from disgrace in drunkenness, and not unfrequently in suicide. He had frequently brought this subject before the House, and found his proposition resisted; but he now begged to say, that he was ready to prove his statements either at the bar of the House, or in committee. When it was considered that a soldier of the Scots Greys, of the name of Somerville, was sentenced to receive 200 lashes for an offence which he never committed; that he had received 100, and was lying in the guard-house, subject to receive the second hundred when he has recovered the effects of the first—

Mr. R. GRANT said, by law this could not be.

Mr. HUNT said, he spoke from a petition before the House. But at least this case happening so recently, made the subject more worthy the immediate attention of the House. He then proceeded to read from Mr. Shipp's work, when he was interrupted by

Mr. ROBINSON, who said that the hon. Member had promised to state facts; but he was occupying the whole time of the House in reading written pamphlets. He submitted to the Speaker whether or not this was in order.

The SPEAKER said, he could not correctly define the limits within which a gentleman would be allowed to read. He could only say, that since he had been placed in that chair he had never heard so much time occupied in reading, and so short a time in speaking. The hon. Gentleman would of course consult the feeling of the House, and would regulate by his own discretion the time to be devoted to reading.

Mr. HUNT did not wish to inflict any punishment on the House, or overstep the bounds of discretion; but on a point of so much importance, he thought it necessary to draw the attention of the House to the facts stated by Mr. Shipp, and he had avoided troubling the House with any of his reasoning. He was not aware there were any limits, for some years ago he was sitting in that gallery, when Sir John Cox Hippeley occupied upwards of two hours in reading a pamphlet, written by himself, on the subject of Catholic emancipation. He then proceeded to a statement of Mr. Shipp, that an abuse had crept into the army, which he (Mr. Hunt) considered illegal; namely, giving the soldier the option of receiving a certain number of lashes, or

abiding the sentence of a court-martial. In Jersey, it appeared that some soldiers were sentenced for desertion to receive each 1000 lashes; and, as if that were not sufficiently horrible, the serjeant was to count five between each lash. Nine lashes, of which the cat was composed, with three knots on each lash, would make 27,000 lashes the result of 1000 stripes, and the whole punishment occupied three hours and twenty minutes; the sufferers fainted several times under the lash. Not a drop of water was allowed to the soldiers during this torture. He deprecated the practice, not merely on account of its inhumanity, but because he believed it to be productive of the most injurious moral effects on the character of the soldier, and to be subversive of all real discipline. He should, therefore, bring forward a proposition, which he trusted would meet with the support of his Majesty's Ministers. He had long been anxious to get rid of this punishment. The present Speaker was Judge Advocate for seven years during the war, and when he left that situation the standard of flogging was very different to what it was when he first took that situation. The commanders seemed then to consider it a feather in their caps to report that they had very little occasion to resort to corporeal punishment. He hoped that was the case now, but he regretted much to hear of such cases as that recent one at Birmingham, and those which were constantly occurring in Birdcage-walk. He appealed most sincerely to the Secretary at War, who had at different times exerted his talents on this subject to support his motion, which was, that *an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he might be graciously pleased to suspend all corporeal punishment in the army until next session of Parliament*; that would give them an opportunity of trying the experiment. He desired no credit for himself, and was ready to yield all to his Majesty's Government.

Mr. HUME seconded the motion. Experience had proved the necessity of adopting such a plan. The statements of Mr. Shipp were well worthy the attention of the House, as he doubted not they were perfectly correct. He was one of the most gallant soldiers the army ever had, (cheers,) and had led five forlorn hopes in India. Mr. Shipp admitted, however, that when he left the army the system was somewhat improved.

Mr. R. GRANT—How long is that?

Mr. HUME—About nine years.

Sir J. HOBHOUSE had nothing to complain of in the tone in which the hon. Member for Preston had thought proper to bring forward his motion. The statement of the honourable Gentleman, however, had been made up of facts relating to the previous state of the army—the honourable Gentleman appearing altogether to have lost sight of the present state of the army. But independently of this consideration, there were some of the honourable Gentleman's facts in which he was mistaken; for instance, it was inaccurate to suppose that

a soldier had the option given him of receiving punishment without a court-martial, or of taking the chance of a court-martial with a higher rate of punishment. Such a thing might have been once; but he could take on himself to say that no such thing now existed. Neither was it correct to say that soldiers were secretly punished; the courts-martial at which they were tried were public proceedings; and as to their punishment taking place in secret, that was frequently the case with sentences pronounced by civil courts; and had nothing to do with secrecy of prosecution or of trial. With respect to the general question, however, he was not able to discuss with the hon. Gentleman: because it was well known what his opinions were—he had taken an opportunity of publicly declaring those opinions since he had taken office. And his honourable Friend the Member for Middlesex was mistaken if he supposed that he (Sir J. Hobhouse) had changed his opinions in any degree. Allusion had been made to the case of a soldier at Birmingham; but it was quite an *error to suppose that soldiers were ever punished by instalments*. Now, with respect to the form of the motion, he had some doubt as to that; the *King might, if he pleased, do what was proposed in this motion, but it would be exceedingly irregular, and without precedent*; and after the articles of war had once passed this House, and been signed by his Majesty, he did not conceive that the right way of producing an alteration in them was by an address to the Crown. The hon. Gentleman was mistaken if he supposed that nothing had been done towards showing a disposition on the part of the War-office to *lessen the amount of the punishment*. With the consent of the Judge Advocate-General and of the Commander-in-Chief, he had succeeded in having the new articles of war so drawn up, that the greatest number of lashes that could be inflicted by an *ordinary court-martial* was reduced from 300 to 200, and by a garrison court-martial from 500 to 300. This showed the spirit by which he was actuated; and he *therefore trusted that, after the statement he had made, the honourable Gentleman would not press his motion any further*.

Mr. ROBINSON thought that the system of flogging in the army was objectionable, and he was prepared to support the motion of the hon. Gentleman.

Colonel EVANS also supported the motion, and thought that it was in time of peace that they ought to endeavour to make the experiment.

Mr. KEMMIS recommended that the power of inflicting the lash should be taken away from regimental courts-martial, and that instead they should have the power of sentencing to imprisonment and hard labour.

Mr. R. GRANT doubted whether the House could accede to this motion in point of form.

Colonel DAVIES said that when he first entered the army, there was a horrible system of punishment, which he thanked God was

done away. He perfectly agreed with the hon. Member for East Looe, who recommended that *regimental* courts-martial should be deprived of the power of inflicting corporeal punishment; and he hoped that in the next Mutiny Bill a provision would be introduced to that effect. He said it with great regret, but he was apprehensive that the discipline of the army could not be maintained if corporeal punishment were wholly abolished.

Sir JOHN BOARKE hoped, that at a time when the character of the Commander-in-Chief, and the disposition of officers generally to reduce the number of corporeal punishments were so well known, and when in the returns to the War-Office the colonel of the regiment in which the smallest number of punishments had occurred obtained the greatest credit, the hon. Member for Preston would not press his motion.

Mr. HUNT replied; and pressed for the adoption of the motion, in order to show the disposition of the House.

A division then took place.

For the motion	33
Against it	15
Majority	—18

I need not make any remark upon the conduct of this WYNDHAM (one of the EGREMONTs, I suppose); I offer no opinion as to the effect which SOMERVILLE'S *politics* might have in the producing of this work upon his back. I will not insult your understandings, my friends, by attempting to suggest to you the conclusions which you ought to draw in this case; but, in the first place, cordially thanking the EDITOR of the DISPATCH, for the part which he has here acted, and especially, for this his excellent petition; and, in the next place, expressing my boundless gratification at the result of the debate, I proceed to make some remarks on what was said, agreeably to the report during the debate.

The *reporter*, whom I have had so often to call LIAR, *new-negro*, and *beast*, has at last put forth a publication, which really does make atonement for a considerable part of his enormous sins. These paragraphs which he gives us under the name of HUNT, are excellent; they are principally the words of *others*, to be sure; but, in my opinion, they are all the better for that; they are good in themselves: they were well-timed: the matter was well stuck to, and the result was such as to earn

for this *reporter* a great deal of sensible and well-founded praise, which I give, not only ungrudgingly, but with great pleasure. Faith! we were wrong in being impatient to get rid of this Parliament! It seems to be destined to "*work well*" yet. To be sure, it has its death before its eyes. It has a cancer that must kill it at no very distant day: it sees that it is time for it to make up its long account: it is somewhat like a person, placed in a situation too delicate to be named; but, no matter, if it "*work well*," as it has done in this case, let us not lament that it is not already dead.

The little *Secretary at War*, who, peeping out under the armpit of his great master, used, like SANCHO, poking his head out from under the shield of DON QUIXOTE, to squall so incessantly against military flogging, seems to have been devilishly put to it. "He had done a good deal;" he had "*reduced* the three hundred lashes of the regimental court-martial to *two hundred*;" he had reduced the "*five hundred lashes of the garrison court-martial to only three hundred*;" without, however, prescribing *the weight of the cat*, the *length of time between the lashes*, and without any limit as to the number of times that a punishment should be inflicted. He denied that SOMERVILLE could be brought out to receive the *other hundred lashes*. GRANT said, that it was *contrary to law*; and little HOBHOUSE said, that HUNT was mistaken in supposing that punishment could be inflicted by "*instalments*." Now, I, who was eight years in the army, who was a serjeant-major six years of the time, have seen men receive their flogging at *twice*, at *thrice*, and I remember a man, named VALENTINE HICKEY, who received his flogging at *four instalments*; and I am sure, that *no law* has ever been passed to prevent that practice. When a man was *pardoned* a part of his punishment, which was very frequently the case, he ceased to be a prisoner, and the pardon was announced to him.

HUNT was mistaken, in one respect; but it was a mistake on the other side; for, he said, that each of the nine lashes

had *three* knots ; whereas, each of the nine lashes has *nine* knots ; and he omitted to state, because he did not know, and indeed, could not know, that, in addition to the pain of the flogging, *the flogged man has to PAY THE DRUM-MAJOR FOR THE USE OF THE CATS !* If that be not the practice now, the practice is changed ; for I, having the paying of two companies of the regiment for several years, have, many times, had to pay the drum-major for the cats, and to charge the sums to the flogged men, in their two-monthly accounts.

Besides, it is all nonsense to talk of the number of lashes. The whipcord may be large or small. Ours used to be as thick as the very thickest twine made use of to tie up stout and heavy parcels. The knots were about the size, as nearly as I can recollect, of a dwarf marrow-fat pea ; and the length of the lash was, I think, about fifteen or sixteen inches. These lashes were tied on upon a stick or handle of about eighteen or twenty inches long. Then, observe, besides the weight of the cat there is the *length of time between the strokes*. If the operator go on quickly, he has not the power to lay on a blow so heavy. The drummers used to do the flogging ; they were always *stripped for the work*, and each, by turns, laid on his twenty-five lashes, and then another came. Besides these things there is the strength of the operator to be considered. All the difference in the world between a lash laid on by a boy and a lash laid on by a stout man. So that the whole is arbitrary ; it is a matter, that it is utterly impossible to subject to the regulations of law ; and it as childish to talk about the number of lashes, as it would be for me to talk about the number of plum puddings that I mean to give to the chopsticks of SUTTON-SCOTNEY, without specifying anything as to the weight of them.

Little HOBHOUSE pressed HUNT hard : if one were to judge of the debate from the report, he was almost ready to go upon his knees to him to withdraw his motion. Colonel DAVIES, good man, the patriotic member for WORCESTER,

is reported to have said, that the discipline of the army could not be supported without *some flogging*. He, too, wished the motion to be withdrawn. HUNT stuck to his motion, and insisted upon a division, in order, as he said, to show *the disposition* of the House ! Fortunately the House showed, that it had in this case a good disposition. There were not many members present, to be sure ; but there was a majority of two to one against the flogging, though the Secretary at War wished the motion to be withdrawn.

And, now, what will the Ministry do ? The address *must go the King* ; or else all is become a mockery ; and the King will give an *answer of course* ! If I were Minister, I should look upon myself as being *that which I will not describe*, if I did not advise the King to give an answer expressing his readiness to act agreeably to the wishes of the House, and the wishes of the people in this respect ; for, there is now, not one single man in the whole kingdom, of common mercy, who does not feel a deep interest in this matter. And do the Ministers duly estimate the effect which will be produced *upon the soldiers* by this vote of the House of Commons ? It is now only eight-and-forty hours since the vote passed ; and there is not a barrack-room in the kingdom, in which it has not already been talked of. If the Ministers will be pleased to look at the very faithful, the very plain, the perfectly unornamented facts, which I have related above with regard to the manner of flogging, will they not perceive, at once, that it must of necessity be, with every soldier, a matter next in importance to the salvation of his soul ! Must they not perceive, that every soldier will be now looking to **WHAT THE KING SHALL NOW DO** ; and must they not perceive what must inevitably be the ultimate result, if the King *do nothing* in consequence of this address ! It is not for me to say, and I will not say, what I think that result would be : but I will say this, that if I had a desire to behold that which the Ministers must have the strongest desire to prevent, I should wish the King to be

advised to treat this address with neglect, and to suffer the flogging to go on.

Let me now, my friends, beseech you to turn your eyes back a little; to survey the times that we have passed through; the perils amidst which we have lived, and the sufferings that some of us have undergone, only for speaking with disapprobation, and in a tone of lamentation, of that which is now execrated in a manner the most fearless. Let me first call your attention to the act of Parliament; an act of "*well-working*" Parliament, which made it DEATH to do little more than speak to a soldier. Our children will not believe that their fathers lived under such laws; and this law you will observe, is *still in existence*. The first act was passed on the 6. June, 1797. It was renewed at the time of its first expiration. It was first enacted, as all such acts have been, to last until the commencement of the then next session of Parliament; when that time arrived, it was continued for the life of the then King; and, in 1817, at the same time when the reformers were gagged, or dungeoned, it was MADE PERPETUAL; and, here it is.

An Act for the better Prevention and Punishment of Attempts to seduce Persons in his Majesty's Forces, by Sea or Land, from their Duty and Allegiance to his Majesty, or to incite them to Mutiny and Disobedience.

[6th June, 1797.]

"Whereas divers wicked and evil-disposed persons, by the publication of written or printed papers, and by malicious and advised speaking, have of late industriously endeavoured to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces by sea and land from their duty and allegiance to his Majesty, and to incite them to mutiny and disobedience;" be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, any person who shall maliciously and advisedly endeavour to seduce any person or persons to commit any act of mutiny, or to make or endeavour to make any mutinous assembly, or to commit any traitorous or mutinous practice whatsoever, shall, on being legally convicted of such offence, be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

II. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any offence committed against this act, whether committed on the high seas, or within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, shall and may be prosecuted and tried before any court of Oyer and Terminer or jail delivery for any county in that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, in such manner and form as if the said offence had been therein committed.

III. Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted, That any person who shall be tried and acquitted, or convicted of any offence against this act, shall not be liable to be indicted, prosecuted, or tried again for the same offence or fact, as high treason, or misprision of high treason; and that nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend, to prevent any persons guilty of any offence against this act, and who shall not be tried for the same as an offence against this act, from being tried for the same as high treason, or misprision of high treason, in such manner as if this act had not been made.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act shall continue and be in force until the expiration of one month after the commencement of the next session of Parliament and *no longer*.

Now observe, that, under this act, the editor of the *Dispatch*, and the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL, and about two hundred editors of newspapers, *might all have been hanged* by the neck until they had been dead, and their goods and chattels might have been forfeited to the King. I remember that, at the revival of this act in 1817, old ELDON said, in answer to Lord HOLLAND, who had contended that it was not necessary, that it was "*a very good act*," and that we ought not to lose the *benefit of it*. It does not appear to be attended with much benefit now: for the newspapers reprobate, with voice unanimous, the practice of flogging; and in such a manner, too, as for it to be impossible that their language should not tend directly to incite soldiers to disobedience. But thus it always is in such cases: it has always been found, that, in the end, such laws lose their force; and, indeed, have an effect the contrary of that which they are intended to produce.

I now come to *my own dreadful case*; and I am really half afraid, that if this *reporter* had reflected on the great gratification that I must receive from reading the report of this debate, he would *never have been the cause of such a pub-*

lication. It is monstrous, to be sure, to think this ; but I am half afraid that it is right to think it ; for, if I had hired the fellow to do the thing, the thing could not have been done better, or give me more delight. My dreadful, my case of unparalleled cruelty, is fully set forth in the following petition, which I **YESTERDAY sent to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that he might present it to the King**, requesting the Secretary of State to be so good as to inform me *of the nature of his Majesty's decision thereon*. I will now insert the petition ; and then I shall have some remarks to add to that.

To his Most Gracious Majesty WILLIAM the Fourth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That there was published in London, in the year 1809, a newspaper, called the *Courier*, which newspaper continues there to be published unto this day ; that, in this said newspaper was published, on Saturday the twenty-fourth day of June, 1809, a piece of news, or intelligence, in the following words ; to wit :

“ The mutiny amongst the *Local Militia*,
 “ which broke out at Ely, was fortunately suppressed, on Wednesday, by
 “ the arrival of *four squadrons* of the German Legion Cavalry from Bury, under
 “ the command of General Auckland.
 “ Five of the ringleaders were tried by a
 “ Court-Martial, and sentenced to receive
 “ *five hundred lashes each*, part of which
 “ punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. A *stoppage*
 “ *page for their knapsacks* was the ground
 “ of complaint that excited this mutinous
 “ spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers and demand what
 “ *they deemed their arrears*. The first
 “ division of the German Legion halted
 “ yesterday at Newmarket, on their return
 “ to Bury.”

That your humble petitioner published, at the time here referred to, a work called the *Weekly Political Register* ; that, on the first

day of July 1809, he inserted in the said work the above paragraph from the *Courier*, and that he, at the same time, subjoined words of his own, expressive of great indignation at the transaction, but words conveying no sentiment which he did not then think, and which he does not now think, it became an Englishman to entertain and express on such an occasion ; and your humble petitioner is fully convinced, that if YOUR MAJESTY were to be graciously pleased now to read those words, taking all the circumstances into your consideration ; who the punished parties were ; that they were poor men, whom a novel law had forced to quit their homes, and to submit to military service ; that the law had awarded a sum of money called the “ marching guinea,” but knapsacks had been given, or tendered to them, instead of the money ; that though, perhaps, this might be for their own ultimate convenience and good, yet that, even if their claim had not been strictly legal, their youth and inexperience ought (your petitioner is sure your Majesty will allow) to have pleaded successfully in excuse for their conduct, and ought (especially as they had been compelled to assume the military garb) to have saved them from suffering punishment, severe in itself, and deemed infamous by the law of the land ; your humble petitioner is fully convinced that, if your Majesty were now to read those words, taking into consideration all these circumstances, your Majesty would see in them nothing that ought not to have proceeded from the heart or the pen of an Englishman ; and that your Majesty would be able to discover in those words nothing that ought to be deemed seditious or libellous.

That, however, for having written and caused to be published these words, your humble petitioner was prosecuted by an *ex officio* information ; that he was harassed with this prosecution for nearly a year ; that he was then brought to trial ; and that he was sentenced, first, to be imprisoned for two years in the jail of Newgate ; second, to pay a thousand pounds sterling at the end of the two years ; and third, to be held in bonds of three thousand pounds himself, with two sureties in a thousand pounds each, to the end of seven years after the expiration of the two years of imprisonment.

That, after the verdict had been given

against your petitioner, he just had time to return to his alarmed family at seventy miles distance from London, when he was brought back by a judge's warrant to *give bail for his appearance to receive his sentence*; that, having appeared on the first day of term according to the command of the warrant, he was at once committed to jail, and kept there until finally brought up to receive his horrible sentence; and that (a thing theretofore wholly unheard of), his then printer, THOMAS HANSARD, his then publisher, RICHARD BAGSHAW, and even a bookseller named JOHN BUDD, were all, for the self-same cause, prosecuted in like manner, and all punished by imprisonment; so that all persons pursuing the business of printing, or that of publishing, became terrified at the thought of printing or publishing the writings of your humble petitioner, who had to endure many and great disadvantages arising from this terror, which caused an augmentation in the expense of putting forth his future literary labours, and other grievous injuries which he will not here enumerate.

That your petitioner, who had long lived in the country at the time, and who had a wife and a family of six small children, was put into a part of the jail allotted to *felons* and to persons convicted of *unnatural crimes*; that, on the day after the imprisonment of your petitioner commenced, one of the former was taken out to be transported; and that, in a few days later, several of the latter were taken out to be placed in the pillory, and then brought back again to endure imprisonment in the same place that had been allotted to your petitioner, but imprisonment, he beseeches your Majesty to be pleased to observe, *of much shorter duration!*

That your humble petitioner, in order to avoid society like this, and to be able to avail himself of the consolation afforded by occasionally seeing his virtuous family, obtained, through the intercession of gentlemen belonging to the corporation of London, leave to reside in the house of the keeper, to whom he paid for this indulgence twelve pounds for every week; amounting, in the two years, to *one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds.*

That, with any detail of the numerous other expenses, losses, injuries, and mischiefs of endless variety, attending these two years of

imprisonment, and the other parts of the merciless sentence, your humble petitioner will not presume to trouble your Majesty; but will conclude with, first, expressing his gratitude to God for having preserved him and his family amidst all these terrible sufferings; and next, with appealing to the justice of your Majesty, whom he humbly begs leave to remind, that at the end of these two years of pain and of ruin, he paid into the hands of an officer of the crown a *thousand pounds sterling*, for the use of the King; and he now prays that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause the said thousand pounds to be restored to him, with the interest thereon; a prayer, the rejection of which he cannot anticipate, now that the House of Commons have addressed your Majesty, beseeching you to suspend not only *flogging*, but *all corporeal punishment* in the army.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

20th June, 1832.

I presented a similar petition to the late King, except that I did not pray to have the interest of the money returned me. Here are twenty years' interest upon a thousand pounds; so that, if I be allowed to charge only simple interest, that would make it two thousand; and it is no fault of mine if I have not settled up the account, and received the interest annually, so as to entitle me to the compound interest. If I can prove that the other parties would not settle with me, the law would certainly, in a common case, give me the interest upon interest, which would make the amount, I believe, more than three thousand pounds; so that, if his Majesty should be graciously pleased to return a favourable answer to my petition, this Government will, after all, have been acting a paternal part towards me; and, finding me not disposed to husband the fruits of my labour, took a parcel of it from me, to take care of it for me in my old age. I hope, however, that they have not committed it to the charge of the Old Lady in Threadneedle-street; for in that case, I would not give much for it, unless I could have it before the birth of any of the projects of Sir HENRY PARNELL'S committee.

The fact is, that I never will cease, as long as I live, to endeavour to get this money; unless I get it before I cease to live. When I gave it into the hands of the officer in Newgate, I called to me a little son and daughter that I had in Newgate with me, and said to them, "Look here, my dears, I am giving this thousand pounds to this man, that he may carry it to the King, who will not suffer me to be let out of this jail unless I pay this thousand pounds. I want this thousand pounds for you and your mother. I will endeavour to induce the King to give it me back again; if I should die before I get the money back, let me charge you never to cease your endeavours to get the money and to give it to your mother. There it is; take it, and carry it to the King." So saying, I put the thousand-pound bank-note into the hands of the fellow.

Now, I repeat this charge to my sons, who are now grown up, and possess the ability to urge this claim. All the money that I paid to the jailer: all the ruinous losses and expenses ought to be repaid me. Never was a claim more clear or more just; and we have heard enough of compensation for losses, when the losses, real or pretended, have been to uphold this present system, which is now declared to have been destructive to the nation. Millions have been given in compensation on this account; but I reckon my sufferings and losses as nothing? I want nothing but a repayment of my money with due and legal interest thereon; and that repayment I will have, or content on this score shall never be an inmate of my breast.

Oh! my God! What an *Iliad* of troubles has this cruel punishment of me and my family brought upon this THING! So great was the suffering; so abominable was the whole transaction; so deep-rooted was my resentment on account of it; so many circumstances were there belonging to it, each seeming to be more cruel than all the rest, that it has never been out of my mind for any one twenty-four hours together, from the time that the horrid

sentence was passed to the present hour. Just as they took me to the horrible Newgate, a dreadful stroke of thunder seemed to make the prison shake: at that moment my wife, who had followed me up from the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, came running into the hole into which they had put me, seeming very much frightened by the clap of thunder. Taking her by the hand, I said, "Never mind: don't be afraid of anything that God will do to us; and as to those, who have sent me here, be you only patient, and I will take care that they shall get nothing by what they have done." They have got nothing by it; and, God granting me life, nothing shall they get by it; but at all events, I will have my money, if applications for it, in a legal manner, will get it me.

Just before I went out of the prison, the Westminster committee (not yet corrupted into a Rump) sent me an address, in which they described the cruelties which I had been made to endure. My answer to them was this: "Gentlemen, I very sincerely thank you for this expression of your abhorrence of the sufferings which I have been made to undergo, for having expressed my indignation at Englishmen having been flogged in the heart of England, under a guard of GERMAN bayonets. I will be revenged on my persecutors, by never ceasing, while I have life, to endeavour to do good to my country, and to restore its liberties; and, gentlemen, be you assured, that our days will be speedily numbered, unless we be destined to behold the abolition of military flogging." We have seen it; and though the days have been numbered of some of those who sent me that address, there are some of them still alive; and it ought to be a gratification to them, that they were amongst the persons to agree to that address, and to receive that answer, which was at once so patriotic and so prophetic; and up to the very letter of which they have seen me act from that day to this.

With regard to SOMERVILLE, whose christian name is, I suppose, ALEXAN-

DER, as there is an A before his name, I must, from the nature of the circumstance, have a strong fellow-feeling with him. It is very curious that the first thing, the *very* first thing that I ever wrote for the press in my life, was a little pamphlet entitled the "SOLDIER'S FRIEND," which was written immediately after I quitted the army in 1791, or early in 1792. I gave it in manuscript to CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRICE (the brother of that CAPTAIN MORRICE who was a great companion of the Prince of Wales); and by him it was taken to Mr. RIDGWAY, who then lived in *King-street, St. James's-square*; and Mr. RIDGWAY (the same who now lives in Piccadilly) published it. I do not know that I ever possessed the pamphlet, except for a week or two after it was published, but I remember the title, and I remember that the motto was—

"Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw;
Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the laws."

A motto taken from GOLDSMITH, every word of whose two famous poems, the *TRAVELLER* and the *DESERTED VILLAGE*, I could repeat by heart, from the first year that I became a soldier.

I have a great fellow-feeling with SOMERVILLE, as, indeed, I have with all soldiers, though I have carefully kept aloof from them, from the time that I first read the above-cited terrible law. I should like SOMERVILLE as well if he were not a poet; but, while there is no harm in that, his *letter* to the *Dispatch*, and, above all things, his answer to his commanding-officer, proves him to be a man of mind and of merit; and I, above all men living, know the perils that surround a man who possesses merit, and has nothing but merit to oppose to power which has none. If I were to relate nothing but the naked facts, connected with the life which I had to lead for six years; if I were merely to describe the perils amongst which I lived, merely on account of my merit, the minds of men in general would be hardly able to bring them to consider the relation in any other light than that of romance;

perils, from which, after all, I should not have escaped, had it not been for the discernment and the justice of Sir THOMAS CARLETON, the governor of the province, and the virtuous Lord EDWARD FITZGERALD, of whom I have a thousand times said, and I said it once in the presence of PITT, that he was the only really just commissioned officer that I ever knew in the army. There, if I had nothing else to animate me in her behalf, I owe a great deal to ill-treated Ireland.

To return to Somerville. It is proposed by the editor of the *DISPATCH*, to raise by subscription the means of legally obtaining his discharge; and I hereby request my friends, in every part of the country, to contribute each of them a trifle, for which purpose a little book shall be kept at my shop in BOLTON COURT, and I will pay the money over to the editor of the *DISPATCH*, whom I do not personally know, but whose excellent conduct in this interesting case proves him to be worthy of the trust. He has the great merit of having begun the undertaking, and it is for him to conclude it. There can be no objection to the thing; because the purchasing of discharges are matters of every-day occurrence. I see that there is a penny subscription going on for this purpose at CANTERBURY. KENT never was yet the last in proofs of public spirit. What a *stir* is here now! How changed the minds and feelings of the people! A base hireling of a *caricaturist* of the name of GILLRAY, who was pensioned in the time of PITT, exhibited me, the moment I was in prison, tied up to the halberds, and the viperous *Attorney-General*, GIBBS, in the act of *flogging me*! I will one of these days publish all the names of the jury; but, I recollect, that TOM RHODES, the cow-keeper of HAMPTSTEAD, was the foreman of the jury.

Thus, my friends, *readers of the Register*, I conclude an address, very long, to be sure; but I trust you will deem it of interest sufficient to apologize for its length.

I remain your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT,

ASSAULT ON THE KING.

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 24th of June. This base London press surpasses everything in the world in the quality of baseness. If a thing so very serious as that of a personal assault upon the chief magistrate of a country, perpetrated with the avowed design of taking *vengeance* on him, and accompanied with the expression of a determination to obtain that vengeance; if a thing so serious as this, could possibly admit of being turned into ridicule, the account given of the transaction by the London daily press would certainly effect that object. I shall insert this account as published in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 20th of June, which I recommend to the reader's attention; and when he has gone through it, I will offer him such remarks as it shall appear to me to be proper for the occasion.

(From the *Morning Chronicle* of 20th June.)

ATROCIOUS ASSAULT UPON HIS MAJESTY.

Yesterday, 19th instant, was the first day of Ascot Heath Races, and it will be memorable from a most atrocious assault which was committed upon the person of his Majesty, while standing at the window of the Grand Stand, in the presence of her Majesty and a brilliant assemblage of friends and guests, by whom their Majesties were attended. The circumstances of this revolting act we shall now describe.

A *ruffian*, in the garb of a sailor, of most wretched appearance, with a wooden leg, suddenly flung a large flint stone directly at the King; his aim was as accurate as the effect of the blow was severe; the stone struck our venerable Sovereign on the forehead, just above the rim of his hat, which was fortunately on his head at the time. The sound was so loud that the moment the stone reached its destination, it was distinctly heard throughout the room. The King was either *stunned*, or so much astonished at the moment, as to fall back two or three paces, and exclaimed, "*My God! I am hit!*" At this moment the same ruffian threw

another stone, which struck the woodwork of the window, and fell to the ground. *Lord Frederick Fitzclarence* was close to his Royal Parent, and, taking him by the hand, led him to a chair, inquiring with the utmost agitation if he was injured. The Queen, *Lady Errol*, and all in the room, were equally alarmed and *horror-struck*. Happily, his Majesty soon relieved their anxiety, and taking off his hat, and placing his hand on the spot where the blow had fallen, declared *with a smile* that he was unhurt! Providentially, his Majesty's hat preserved him from consequences which might otherwise have been most serious. The first moment of surprise and alarm being over, his Majesty received the *affectionate* congratulations of the Queen and those by whom he was surrounded, while the Countess of Errol (*his daughter*) *burst into an agony of tears*, and could with difficulty be persuaded that there was no further danger to be apprehended. While this *painful scene* was exhibited in the Royal Stand, the attention of the populace was directed to what was going on beneath. The *ruffian* had scarcely thrown the stones (which was the work of a moment) when he was seized by a gentleman, who afterwards proved to be *Captain Smith*, of the Royal Navy, a resident at Windsor, and by another gentleman, named *Turner*, who had been a witness to the transaction. The *Bow-street officers*, who were on the spot, rushed to their assistance, and *Taunton* and *Gardener* conducted the now passive prisoner to the *magistrates' room*, under the Stand, contiguous to that of the King, where he was detained in proper custody till the subsequent examination.

The intelligence of the painful occurrence spread in all directions, and a dense crowd was soon collected in front of the Royal Stand, still anxiously inquiring into the state of the King, and asking information respecting the outrage which had been committed. In the midst of this confusion, and in little more than three minutes after the occurrence, the King rose from his chair and presented himself at the window.

The moment it was seen his Majesty was unhurt, a *simultaneous shout of joy burst from all quarters*, which was repeated when the Queen and Lord Frederick Fitzclarence also presented themselves at the window. Three distinct cheers were then given with such enthusiasm that the feelings of the *populace could not be mistaken*; there was a *heartiness and sincerity* in their expression which left no doubt of the horror and indignation with which they viewed the *dastardly* attack which had been made, although they were as yet but imperfectly acquainted with its nature or extent. Similar sentiments pervaded all classes, and repeatedly, during the remainder of the day, the like demonstrations of loyalty and attachment to the King's person were manifested whenever he exhibited himself at the window. On the first burst of these natural and *loyal sensations* the King was *deeply affected*, and could scarce refrain from *shedding tears*, while most of the female group by whom he was surrounded could not suppress *that testimony of their participation in the joy of his subjects*.

EXAMINATION OF THE PRISONER.

On the public mind being pacified, Mr. Elliott, a magistrate of Reading, assisted by *Mr. Roe, the chief magistrate*, proceeded to take examinations against the prisoner, who stood in the corner of the room, apparently but little affected by his situation. His appearance, as we before stated, was most wretched, and similar to that of those wandering mendicants, who, in the tattered garbs of sailors, are constantly imposing on the credulity of the public. He had a wooden leg of the most rude construction; and in answer to the numerous questions which were put to him, said his name was Dennis Collins, that he was a native of Cork, and had been long in his Majesty's service. He had originally served in the *Kangaroo*, and lost his leg by an accident on board the *Atalanta*. He had been admitted a pensioner to Greenwich Hospital, where he had remained eighteen months; but six months back he

had *misconducted himself* towards his ward's-man, and had been turned out. From that period, which was in December, he had been without pension or means of support. He petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty for redress, but in vain; he then, on the 19th of April last, petitioned the King. This petition he took to Whitehall, and he had reason to believe it had reached the King at Windsor, for it was sent back to the Lords of the Admiralty, and he was again informed, through their secretary, that his claims could not be recognised; he then became desperate; he had no means of support; and, as he said, "he might as well be shot or hanged as remain in such a state." In this feeling it was he came to Ascot, *determined to be revenged on the King*. He admitted he threw the stone which struck his Majesty, as well as that which followed. He had no accomplices, and acted entirely from his own feelings, and without the suggestion or dictation of any person. He then produced his papers, to show that his story was well founded; and on being reasoned with on the atrocity of his conduct, he said he was sorry for it. His manner was *perfectly collected and rational*, and he was recognised by some of the Bow-street officers as having been before the magistrates of that establishment *for some former misconduct*. On *examining his head* there was a mark of a wound, which we collected from him had been inflicted by a fall. He was not intoxicated, but he admitted he had been drinking beer, which he purchased with a shilling which had been given to him by a gentleman that morning. He had walked down from London, and had slept in a shed in the neighbourhood of Windsor the preceding night. This was the substance of his own statement.

The following evidence was then taken on oath by Mr. Burnaby, the clerk of the magistrates:

Captain George Smith, of the Royal Navy, being at Windsor, deposed that he was that day standing in front of the Royal Stand, on Ascot Heath; he saw his Majesty standing at the window, and saw the prisoner throw a stone at his

Majesty, which struck his Majesty on the head; his Majesty reeled back—put his hand to his head, and made some exclamation which he did not hear; at the same instant the prisoner threw a second stone. Witness immediately seized the prisoner, who made some observation he did not distinctly understand.

Mr. Benjamin Turner, of No. 5, Waterloo-terrace, Bethnal-green, deposed that he was also standing in front of the Royal Stand, and saw the prisoner fling two stones, the first of which struck his Majesty on the head, the other fell to the ground. He saw his Majesty reel backwards, and at the same instant he saw the last witness seize the prisoner, who made no resistance, but admitted he had thrown the stones.

Lord Frederick Fitzclarence was next examined. He produced a large flint stone with jagged edges; he was that day standing next to his Majesty, on the Royal Stand, and was suddenly alarmed by hearing the sound produced by a stone striking his Majesty on the head. His Majesty exclaimed, "Oh, God! I am hit!" Witness saw the stone fall on the floor; and it was immediately afterwards picked up, and handed to him by Lord Brownlow.

Lord Brownlow deposed that he likewise was in the Royal Stand. He saw his Majesty struck by the stone produced, which he picked up, and handed to the last witness.

Several other witnesses, including one of the band, who picked up the stone that fell from the window, and Led-bitter, who picked up a stone at the foot of the prisoner, also tendered their evidence; but Mr. Elliot was of opinion that there was evidence sufficient of the fact to commit the prisoner for further examination; and the witnesses having signed their depositions, a mittimus was made out, committing the prisoner to Reading Jail, with an understanding that he should be brought up again, for a second examination, on Tuesday next, at the Petty Sessions of Wokingham, in the county of Berks, on which day the witnesses were desired again to attend.

Some of the county officers were then called in; and the prisoner having been consigned to their custody, he was taken, in a post-chaise, to his destination.

The magistrates did not seem to have agreed upon the character of the crime of the prisoner; but the general impression was that it amounted to high treason.

There is no doubt, from the spirit which the prisoner displayed, and the hostility which he expressed, that had he been able to procure a more deadly weapon than the stone which he used, he would have had no hesitation in using it towards the royal person. That he had not the means, and that his abominable intentions were not more seriously carried into effect, must be a source of congratulation throughout the country.

It was six o'clock before their Majesties quitted the Grand Stand on their return to Windsor Castle, and in their passage down the course the cheers of the crowd were enthusiastic. All classes seemed to unite in testifying their attachment to the royal person, as well as their joy at his escape from the danger of his cowardly and treacherous assailant.

Thus far the *Morning Chronicle*, which the reader will perceive, talks of the Queen and of "Lord" Frederick Fitzclarence, just as if it had never published one single word about the "*Fitz-Jordans!*" This press is certainly the most infamously base thing that ever was suffered to exist on this side of the infernal regions! But now to the matter. We will pass over the marks of affection from the Queen, the bursting into "*an agony of tears*" on the part of the King's "*daughter*," as Dr. BLACK is pleased to denominate some woman that was present. We will pass over the simultaneous shouts of joy from the "*populace*," wondering, however, why this parasitical Doctor should be so anxious to set forth the feelings of the populace on this occasion, and should seem to care less about the feelings of any body else! But we cannot, with

justice, pass over the great and proper care which had, upon this occasion, been taken with a view to the *preservation of the peace*, in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand. But in order to do justice here we must take the Doctor's own words, as put down in another part of his paper, and which words are very well worthy the attention of the reader.

"The only novelty which we remarked was the presence for the first time of a *military band*, which was stationed close to the Grand Stand, and which continued to play *popular pieces* throughout the day—thus filling up most agreeably those periods between the races, which were heretofore uninteresting and often wearisome.—*With a view to the preservation of the peace in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand*, there was, as is customary, a *strong muster* of the principal Bow-street officers, including the venerable Townsend, Sayers, Taunton, Ellis, Ruthven, Ledbeater, Gardner, and others, under the direction of Mr. Roe, the chief magistrate of Bow-street, and a strong detachment of the horse-patrol dismounted, under the command of Mr. Day. There were also some county magistrates and local constables on the spot."

Bless us! The preservation of the peace! What: at a horse-race! A strong muster from Bow-street, under Roe the chief magistrate! A strong detachment of horse-patrol under their commander! The county magistrates with their constables! And all this at a horse race! And all these stationed in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand; and that, too, while the *military band* was playing "**POPULAR PIECES** throughout the day!" "Music," says Shakspeare, "has charms to soothe a savage breast." A sentiment however, which, upon this occasion, seems to have been forgotten; or, at any rate, not to have been relied on; for, if it had been expected, that the race-ground would be covered with men having the savagest of breasts; breasts far too savage to be softened

by music, it appears, that more awful preparations could not have been made.

Upon the account of his Majesty being scarcely able to refrain from "*shedding tears!*" while the group around him actually did shed them, being so "*deeply affected*" at the bursts of "*loyal sensations*" proceeding from the lips of his people; on these things we will not stop to make remarks, the matter being really too moving for men of common mould; but with regard to some matters, connected with the "*examination of the prisoner*," it does not become us to be silent. It is here stated, that he confessed to have "*misconducted*" himself in Greenwich Hospital. It is improbable that he should have made such confession, while he was declaring that he sought revenge on the King, on account of unjust treatment. In short, this is a falsehood, put forth by these parasites. We are next told, that "*some of the Bow-street officers*" recognised him as having been before the magistrates there for some *former misconduct*. This is always the way of this infamous press, who can never suffer a poor man to undergo the penalty to which he is inevitably exposed, without endeavouring to deprive him, even of that compassion to which the greatest malefactors are in some degree entitled. They can, if the unfortunate offender be a poor man, never suffer him to come before an unprejudiced tribunal; never suffer him to undergo death, or punishment next to death, uncalumniated by them. This man's act was very bad; but severe is to be his punishment. God dooms the wicked to suffer; but he never dooms them to be libelled previous to their suffering; and none but the basest of mankind will ever fall foul, even on a criminal, without there being a necessity for doing it from some imperious motive of public morality. While we express a due degree of disapprobation of the deed of this man, we are to consider how forlorn was his situation, and how absolute his despair. His own words, that he had "*no means*" of support, and that he might as well "*be shot or hanged, as remain in such*

"astate;" these words which are sufficient to soften the heart of a tiger, and which will, I trust, weigh much with the King, seem to have no effect, other than that of hardening the hearts of these monsters.

But the most interesting part of this account of Dr. Black, is, what he says about the magistrates not being able to agree upon the *character of the crime* of which the prisoner has been guilty. Character of the crime! What! A man comes for the express purpose, flings a sharp flint stone at the King, cuts his head, makes him nearly fall down, says he comes for the express purpose of having revenge on him; and the magistrates in that same country where DESPARD was executed for high treason; aye, and where CASHMAN and THISTLEWOOD and INGS and BRUNT and TIDD and BRANDRETH and TURNER and LUDLAM were executed for high treason; these magistrates cannot agree as to the character of his crime! What, then, did some of them suppose that it was a *common assault*; and that this man was to be tried for a misdemeanour, while WELLINGTON and Vaughan and Alderson and Parke and Sturges Bourne and Denman and Wilde sent HENRY COOKE, of MICHELDEVER, to the gallows, for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm? This would be pretty, indeed. If this were the case, it would be well for the King to be a BARING. No, no! The crime is clearly that of high treason; and, though there is very substantial reason for the King to be extremely angry with the fellow, I hope that he will be advised to let the law take its full swing until the last stage, and that he will then exercise the greatest of all his prerogatives in favour of this poor desperate creature; which act, I will venture to say, would do him more good with the industrious millions of his people, than everything that ever can be done by all the infamous parasites of the London daily press. To make the poor fellow out *insane*, and thereupon, by the new law, shut him up for life, would not have half so good an effect. I see that they

have already been poking about his *head*, and have even found out a wound there! I do not like this. Never was an act more deliberate in the whole world. Here was premeditation, pre-determination, everything proving that the malice was *pre-pense*; and all this proves to demonstration the absence of insanity. At least, it proves the absence of insanity for the time; and that is quite enough to deprive the offender of the plea of insanity. This, therefore, is not the course to pursue. The right course is to try the criminal for the crime of which he has really been guilty, and for his Majesty to exercise towards him, in his own time and manner, that mercy which we have no right to presume does not form the great characteristic of his royal disposition. Being perfectly convinced that this would be the wise course, I wish, with all my heart, that it may be pursued. Dr. BLACK calls the attack upon the King, cowardly, and afterwards he calls it *dastardly*. If it were, really as dastardly as the Doctor's endeavours to stifle every feeling of compassion for this poor despairing mortal, I should say, Let the traitor "*swing*," and let his body be chopped up, as those of the innocent poor would be under WARBURTON'S Bill. But, while every one must declare this act to have been wicked; while every one must declare it to be a great crime, no one but a base parasite of the London daily press will affix to it the epithets of cowardly and dastardly. The poor creature is exposed to just censure enough: his guilt is quite great enough, without imputing to him that of which he has not been guilty. But, this is the fashion of these parasites of the London daily press, who are always on the side of power, and always in favour of severity of punishment; who, the moment a man, or woman, no matter which, stands only accused by the powerful or the rich, fall upon the accused with *ruffian*, *villain*, *miscreant*, *monster*, and every term contained in the language, expressive of guilt and of infamy.

These unfeeling vagabonds of the press do not seem to recollect what they

themselves take the liberty to do sometimes; Dr. BLACK should recollect, that, to write, or to publish is an overt act, and that treason can be committed with a *pen* as well as with a *stone*. I do not desire to see the Doctor tried for high treason; but if, about six weeks ago, the Doctor had not had a ministry at his back, he might have been in pretty nearly as much peril as this poor creature is in now. The Doctor did not assault with a stone, it is true; but it would not be difficult to show, that his *assaults* were a vast deal more mischievous to the party assaulted, than the assault of this forlorn creature could possibly be. His Majesty has now an opportunity of gaining the hearty applause of all the industrious millions of his subjects, and particularly his Irish subjects, of whom this destitute and desperate creature appears to be one, and to preserve whose hearty goodwill is, at this time, of so much importance.

We now come to the proceedings which took place in Parliament in consequence of this assault upon the King. Lord GREY moved an address to the King, in the usual style, in such cases; expressing horror and indignation at the assault, and praying "Almighty God to continue to watch over and protect a life so justly dear to us." This address was sent to the House of Commons for them to concur in it. In the House of Lords all was decorous and becoming. The House was unanimous, as, in such a case, was absolutely necessary, as well for the sake of their own character, as on account of the respect due to the King. But, in *other place*, the thing was very different. Lord ALTHORP, in a goodish, common-place piece of humdrum, moved, that the House should concur in the address sent from the Lords. He was seconded by PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, who now smells at the other side of the same nosegay. But he could not let slip this opportunity of pretty nearly ascribing the assault to the reformers. The day before this assault on the King, STRATHFIELD-SAYE'S DUKE had had a hustling and rummaging in the City, and had got off,

apparently, with whole bones, under the protection of three or four hundred of the more than half military police. PEEL ascribed both attacks to what he called the "*excitement*" which prevailed, and he ascribed the immediate acts of violence to the language of Mr. HUME, who had said, that physical force was, in certain cases, justifiable. In short, he ascribed these violent assaults to the doctrines of Mr. HUME and such doctrines. STANLEY denied that there was any political feeling in the man who had assaulted the King; but he was "free to confess that the attack on the Duke of WELLINGTON, was atrocious, disgusting, and shameful to the last degree, especially, when it was considered that it took place on the 18th June, the day on which fresh laurels were put upon the head of the conqueror, and from him reflected *imperishable glory on the country*:" to which he might have added, or in place of which he might have said, IMPERISHABLE DEBT. That would have been the truth. After this, two or three others having intervened with nothing very new, came BURDETT with a speech, which, I should think, considering from whom it came, has never been equalled in the world, and at which the knees of Dr. BLACK would knock together.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he felt so strongly on this subject, that he was unwilling to speak lest he might fall into the same error he would deprecate in others. He had heard of these attacks with great regret. It was most deeply to be lamented that any body could be found in England to commit an outrage upon the person of the Duke of Wellington, whose fame and whose reputation was a part of the public property, and whose name our children's children, to the most remote generations, could never hear without an overflowing feeling of gratitude. (Loud cheers.) It was shocking, therefore, to think that there should now be persons in existence, at a period so little remote from the glorious actions and distinguished services of that great man, who could be guilty of such an abominable display of the vulgar malignity proper to their base natures. (Loud cheers.) He should have thought that there was not a man in England capable of exhibiting himself in so horrible a part. (Continued cheering.) And with respect to the wretched man who had assaulted his Majesty, if he were not absolutely a maniac, he must certainly be a strangely-

excited individual. But this obnoxious conduct of his was no shame to the country; because any country might have the misfortune to give birth to such a person. (Hear.) The learned Gentleman opposite had, he thought, read a lecture rather to the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) than to the right hon. Secretary (Mr. S.); and he concurred with the latter in regretting that the indignation which they all felt should be mixed up with any extraneous matter. He protested not only against the attacks alluded to, but against others of an *even more atrocious description*, which had not been alluded to, and which must excite *disgust unutterable* in every *true-hearted Englishman*—in every *manly* mind; he alluded to the *vile*, the *loathsome*, the *execrable* attacks upon one whose sex, not less than her illustrious station, ought to have been her protection (loud cheering)—the attacks upon an *illustrious lady* (continued cheering) who has been brought forward in a way *most deeply disgraceful to Englishmen*, and which gave him doubt and apprehension where this *incipient spirit of baseness* might lead to. (Cheers.) He had now finished. He was anxious to stop at the point where all must concur. His only feeling of apprehension with respect to the motion was, lest they might appear to give too much importance to those people in the eyes of foreign powers, to an event which was only important from its reference to the highest quarter in the realm. (Hear, hear.)

Bravo! loyal BURDETT! Well, then, we are not now to talk of "*hired sheriffs, Parliament, and kings*;" we are not now to talk of "*tearing the leaves out of the accursed Red Book*;" we are not now to talk "*of laying the axe to the root of the tree, and to do with the tree as the Scripture taught us*." We are now to screw up our mouths and mince our words to mummy, before we let them out! As to the "*disgusting, vile, loathsome, execrable attacks upon an ILLUSTRIOUS LADY*," which are so "*disgraceful to Englishmen*," and which made this worthy man doubtful as to what this incipient baseness might lead; as to these attacks, let Dr. BLACK and his cronies in the Ministry answer for them; but, as to WELLINGTON'S "*fame and reputation* being a part of *public property*," I should if I were the Duke be devilishly afraid, that the old Baronet had his eyes upon SOMETHING ELSE in my possession, to which the words public property might be more aptly applied; and, when he was talking of our *children's children* enjoying a share

in this property, I should have objected to this language as being capable of a *literal* construction; for, all the world would never have made me believe, that this man was serious, if his words were taken in any other sense. He had the happiness, however, upon this occasion to have the hearty concurrence of LAWYER CROKER; and, if MARY ANN CLARKE had been alive, and sitting by the side of the lawyer, Burdett would, I dare say, have had her concurrence too: for MARY ANN was a thoroughly loyal woman, and proved her loyalty by a sort of devotion to which very few women have the courage to submit. But, the LAWYER brought out new matter. The LAWYER gave information of a play that was going on. He said, that the honourable and worthy Baronet "had justly alluded, to attacks still more atrocious than those before adverted to, (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Croker) said that attack on his Majesty was the work of an individual maniac, (Hear, hear.) He believed the wretch was mad. At least, if it be mania to be one falsely reasoning from false premises, he was as mad as if he had just escaped from Bedlam. But did this conduct of his arise entirely from madness? Was he not pursuing the same course with others? Was this the first insult which had been offered to his Majesty? Had he (Mr. Croker) not read in the papers of the day, that his Majesty, in coming to town from his palace at Windsor, had been obliged to change the road by which his grandfather, his father, and his brother, had been wont to travel? And was it possible not to connect this with the other insult to his Majesty? He did not mean to connect them personally—he did not mean to connect the two sets of people. He only spoke as to the prevalence of the excitement—an excitement which, he maintained, it was the duty of all men, and especially of his Majesty's Ministers, to endeavour to allay—(cheers); —and certainly not one word would he say which was calculated to increase it. There was another thing to which he wished to call the atten-

"tion of his Majesty's Ministers—he
 "meant those *detestable publications*
 "which were circulated in the streets,
 "and forced gratuitously into the hands
 "of passengers, and *which excited to*
 "*outrages on the King and Queen more*
 "*horrible* than that of which they were
 "about to express their detestation.
 "But this was not all; he had also
 "heard that *in a theatre* of this town—
 "and they all knew the effect of scenic
 "representations on the people—there
 "had been a representation directly
 "tending to bring the *King and Queen*
 "*into odium*; and lest the piece itself
 "should not be sufficiently strong, the
 "play-bills gave at full length the
 "grossest libels upon the King and
 "Queen. (Cheers.) He was in pos-
 "session of one of those play-bills, and
 "he ventured to say a grosser libel
 "never was published. (Hear, hear.)
 "He mentioned this as a warning to
 "the Ministers. They might not have
 "heard of this. *He happened to have*
 "*received the bill from a man who*
 "*brought it from the theatre.* He now
 "warned the Ministers. The act of
 "this maniac was to be scouted as the
 "act of a maniac, but it was not to
 "be despised; for the nature of those,
 "your political maniacs, was, to be ex-
 "cited by public excitement. There was
 "no instance in which such persons were
 "not excited and urged forward by some
 "great degree of public commotion.
 "produced by agitation, by the press,
 "and by violent and gross attacks upon
 "the King and Queen, and other high
 "personages of the realm. Therefore,
 "it was not irrelevant to connect these
 "matters with the subject before them;
 "and he hoped the Government would
 "take them into their consideration.
 "(Hear, hear, hear.) It was not to be
 "endured that these persons should not
 "be visited with the *highest penalty of*
 "*the law*, who presumed, for base lucre,
 "to make such gross and atrocious at-
 "tacks upon the Sovereign and her
 "Majesty that they might fill their
 "*filthy house* with the still FILTHIER
 "RABBLE. (Loud cheers.)"

Upon this Lord JOHN RUSSELL said,
 that the affair of the *playhouse* ought to

be looked to; and that the performances
 mentioned by LAWYER CROKER ought to
 be put down. SUGDEN said, that there
 were "*none but the lowest rabble*"; that
 the respectable people were on his side,
 and that the matter ended in a sort of
triumph to his Grace, who was attended
 home by the greatest demonstrations of
 honour and respect." Lawyer SUGDEN
 looks upon a guard of *three or four hun-*
dred police as a sort of triumph. From
Lincoln's Inn he got somehow or other
 into *Cockspur-street*, guarded by *nearly*
four hundred policemen, who, at the
 end of *Pall Mall*, formed two lines, and
 kept off the people, while he got into
St. James's Park, through the *Stable-*
yard, whence he galloped up to his
 house, which has, as everybody knows,
 IRON BLINDS, leaving no glass to be
 seen. This was, as Lawyer SUGDEN
 says, a *sort* of triumph, to be sure. I
 offer no opinions upon this subject; I
 express no feelings upon the subject: I
 do not know what provoked the people;
 but I know that it is a lie to say that
 none but the lowest rabble were con-
 cerned in the affair: I know that that is
 a lie, and a very gross lie too. I impute
 this lie, not to Lawyer SUGDEN; for
 those that he saw about the Duke might
 all be low rabble; but the newspapers
 tell an infamous lie; for they pretend to
 trace the Duke home; and yet they ap-
 pear to know nothing of the three or
 four hundred police which protected him
 while he escaped into the *Stable-yard*.

Dr. BLACK's language, respecting the
 people that hustled the Duke, is per-
 fectly infamous. He, who described the
 Duke as everything that was detesta-
 ble, now abuses the people because they,
 in half joke and half earnest, hustle
 him, and insult him. He says that
 all grateful and patriotic Britons will
discriminate between "the military
 "and political character of the Duke of
 "WELLINGTON; and that all will admit,
 "that the *senseless folly* of his *Grace*,
 "and his *utter abandonment* of pub-
 "*lic principle*, can never cancel the
 "deep-felt obligations of his country to
 "him for his martial services, his per-
 "sonal valour, and his consummate
 "skill as a general." All which, Doc-

tor, you yourself flatly denied, only about five weeks and three days ago. But, Doctor, you are no philosopher, after all. Chopstick as I am, I am more of a philosopher than you; and my eyes, Doctor, are not stuck in my poll, but in the front of my head. I told his Grace's fortune, when he became Prime Minister in 1828. I told him, that if he had been wise, or had had even common sense, he would have stuck to the Horse Guards, where it does very well for people to have brains in their belly: I told him, "Fail in any point as a politician; take any step that shall extensively affect the community, let that effect be deeply mischievous, and at once, *all the admiration of your generalship will be swept away for ever*, except amongst those who make *no noise*: away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts." That is being a philosopher, Doctor. Read these words in *Register* 23, of February 1828: then behold what is going on now: and see the Duke's house rendered bullet-proof by iron blinds; and then come to Bolt-court, and swear allegiance to me as "monarch of the press;" and stop and pull your hat off to me every time that you see me in the street.

Seriously, though, how happy it would have been for the Duke, if he had but had the sense to follow my advice, and to abstain from any step extensively mischievous! But, after all, the most serious thing for the Duke, is the sort of *half-figurative* expressions of Daddy BURDETT. It is true that the Daddy said, that it was the Duke's *fame* that was *public property*. Ha, ha! old sly-boots; I know that you had your eye upon something else besides fame; or, which is much about the same thing, the words *public property* naturally excite different notions in those "*vulgar minds*," whose malignity you said was proper to their base natures. At any rate, if I had been the Duke, and had heard you, I should have wished your tongue in a cleft stick, or disposed of in any other way, rather than have it employed in

describing anything of mine as public property.

MR. O'CONNELL'S SPEECH.

I HERE insert a speech of Mr. O'CONNELL, made upon the occasion here mentioned. Never was a speech that appears to have produced greater impression, which is equally honourable to the speaker and to his hearers. The *two factions have combined* against Ireland, and he is appealing from the two factions to the *people of England*; and they clearly see how deeply they are interested in the matter; they clearly see the *union of the factions* for the purpose of rendering the English Reform Bill as *useless as possible*! The facts, stated in this speech, cannot fail to fill every honest and just Englishman with indignation. But indignation is not all: these facts must convince every man of sense that Ireland must continue a *heavy burden upon England*, instead of being her right arm, if we suffer this enormous injury to be done to her. Those are pretty "*reformers*," pretty fellows to support the "*WHOLE BILL*" (and HEYWOOD, the member for *Lancashire*, amongst the rest), who now are endeavouring to make Ireland *worse off than she was before*; to give her *fewer* electors than she had before! What did we, the people of England, mean by "*the whole bill*?" Why, all the bills, to be sure. Did I, for instance, when I gave *my support* to the REFORM BILL, ever imagine that *it was not to extend to Ireland*? I no more thought of its being withheld from Ireland than from CORNWALL or NORTHUMBERLAND. Every man who was *pledged* to support "*the Reform Bill*," and who now votes for withholding it from Ireland, has *broken his pledge*; and we ought to look out sharply to ascertain *who these men are*. In short, it is clear that the two factions are now firmly united to prevent the "*Reform Bill*" from being of any real use to the people; and in this they will succeed, if the people of England do not bestir themselves in behalf of the people of Ireland.

NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

Agreeably to a requisition from some of the members of the council to meet Mr. O'Connell, and to elicit from him an *exposé* of the injustice done to Ireland by the contemplated plan of Ministerial Reform proposed for that country, the members of this Union were convoked yesterday, and assembled about twelve o'clock, at the great room in Saville-house, Leicester-square. The room was densely crowded, and all the passages along greatly thronged. About one o'clock many of the members of the council appeared on the platform, with Mr. O'Connell and other gentlemen of rank, and were loudly cheered. The chair was taken at one, by

Mr. GEORGE ROGERS, who said that the people of England, though gratified at the measure of reform conceded to themselves, were determined to prove they would not be satisfied were not a similar measure granted to the people of Ireland, to whose exertions was mainly attributable our present success.

Mr. THOMAS MURPHY briefly prefaced a resolution, to the effect that the people of England, being greatly indebted to the people of Ireland, and their popular representatives in Parliament, particularly to Mr. O'Connell, for the passing of the Reform Bill for England and Wales, are bound, therefore, to see that a measure of reform is conceded to Ireland proportionably equal in extent to that secured in England and Wales.

The motion being seconded,

Mr. O'CONNELL attributed the success of reform not to the exertions of this or that party alone—not to the support of the Whigs in office, nor to the opposition of Tories out of place, but to the free-born spirit of Englishmen, that had aroused themselves as a lion in his den, to the voice of the nation that was too loud to be misunderstood, and too determined to be resisted—a voice of thunder that resounded through the groves of Windsor, and reverberated to the palace at Brighton; that was echoed to London, and continued through Birmingham, till the nation was roused by the blast bearing freedom or defiance.

To themselves Englishmen owe that they have trampled on the foul faction that had so long sat as an incubus on the prosperity of the country, and preyed upon its entrails; that had exhausted its resources, trifled with its patience, and grinned horribly a ghastly smile, when its calamity had arisen to the acme of oppression and the verge of despair. A faction that had excised the air that was ventilated through the chambers of the poor and of patients; that had taxed every blessing that Heaven bestows, and every effort that arts might produce. And for whom? For as good-for-nothing a set of men as the sun ever shone upon, and that have calumniated England by calling themselves Englishmen. (Cheers.) For a set of lordlings and lords' ladies, and lords' mothers, who disdain, forsooth, to tread the ground, or acknowledge the rights of the people, from whose pockets their thousands have been pilfered; for a set of imbecile ambassadors abroad, and bribed spies at home; for whiskered *chargés-d'affaire*, and other dishonest incapables, who luxuriously fatten on the spoils of the nation. The Duke of Newcastle alone has been enabled to send more representatives to Parliament than London, Southwark, &c., together; and so has the Marquis of Hertford, that precious paragon of perfection. He is not half reconciled to the people of England for submitting thus patiently to such a tribe of monopolists, to such a solecism in the constitution, and such an outrage on their own rights and feelings. The House of Commons too has played their part in the farce; for at every session they pass a resolution reprobatory of any interference of the Lords, although conscious themselves of that interference; and yet these are the men that are pure in heart, and under the most pious pretences and well-feigned preambles have contrived so long to exclude England from her freedom; and have preyed upon their laws, while they have preyed upon the plunder of the country. Still he rejoiced that the chains of this hypocrisy and oppression were broken and struck off. He rejoiced to find that Old Gatton and Sarum might now have

their requiem sung by their purchasers; and that the lord who had given, but a year ago, 80,000*l.* for Sarum, will find that the biter has been bit, and that he had been curbed not by his own bit-by-bit reform. Sarum, the bait for the wealthy, may now be bought for a song. England has now the power of electing its own representatives: but he trusted that the people will not permit their gratitude to overpower their judgments; that they will not succumb to misguiding pretensions to courtly titles, or to glittering wealth. Englishmen must inquire what are the qualifications and claims of every candidate, whatever his personal pretensions, to their suffrages: whether he will endeavour to procure cheap government and good institutions; not what is his rank or respectability, his profession or his place, but those who will smooth the horrid aspect of the laws, and who will purge the magisterial benches of that base and perilous stuff that preys upon the hearts and rights of the poor oppressed. (Cheers.) The people cannot thank the Whigs for their achievements—that party merely sat upon the whirlwind without directing the storm, and were carried by the popular hurricane far beyond their wishes or their dreams. Their treatment of the people of Ireland proves that the present Ministry conceded to the force of popular opinion and demands, what they would have denied to principle and justice; and now they sit brooding on the stool of repentance, vainly sacrificing to the manes of the rotten boroughs with which they have been forced to grapple. Considering the history of the Reform Bill, he said that, at first, its very extent was likely to defeat itself; it was far beyond the expectations of many, and not within the desires of others; but the people flew to their own relief, and seemed boldly to exclaim to both Houses of Parliament, “Give us the Reform Bill, or else—(Great cheers.)” The Reform Bill is a noble monument of liberty; and he felt proud that he had contributed his mite of talent and exertion to its success. It is a noble and acknowledged boast of any descendant to make,

that one of his ancestors had been instrumental in forcing the tyrant John to concede to Magna Charta to the Barons and Bishops of that period—it will be as great a boast for some of our children that they are descended from those who have so gloriously achieved this second grand monument of freedom and of fame—and it is a delight that he like others will entail that remembrance to his children. But it is evident that the Whigs have acted from policy, not principle; for is not the principle of justice the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, eternal in its source and eternal in its ends, alike in every nation and district, alike in Scotland as in England, and in Ireland as in either? And where is the principle of justice to be found in the Ministerial Bill of Reform for Ireland, submerged, or ingulfed in the gall of iniquity and the dregs of oppression? Why not give to the people of Ireland the same system or measure of reform as has been granted to England? He asks for no more, and he will be contented with no less; and he trusts the stigma of indignity and contempt will be branded on the brow of every Irishman who will be contented with less. (Bravo! you shall have it.) The demands of England have been granted solely because they were immediately enforced, and because the Government were surrounded by voices that continually resounded “Reform, Reform!” But Ireland is considered too remote to be minded, far too remote to have her notes of lamentation and despair heard from the voice of thunder and of determination. The murmurs of Ireland they think they may defy, and drown the voice of clamour by an act of seeming justice. The Whig Government in Ireland began with a lie, was cradled in deceit, and nursed in hypocrisy. The act (which he had designated the *Algerine Act*) had been petitioned against at a public meeting in Dublin, which had entrusted their petition to the Marquis of Anglesea, who wrote to Rutland, the Secretary, that he had presented the petition; and that if he had been, or would be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he would

never enforce the proclamation. Yet but three short days had elapsed before the Marquis of Anglesea, by the change of Administration, did become the Lord-Lieutenant, and one of his first acts was to enforce that proclamation which he had so reprehended, and had promised not to use. He never did, nor would look upon a proclamation as a law; he therefore contemned its appearance. Yet, for this—although a member of Parliament—was he arrested in the presence of his family by a common thief-taker. His individual wrongs were numerous—and the present Government of Ireland—the haughtiest that was ever there; yet, in considering English reform, he forgot the person in the patriot; and in all the discussions of the reform question, three times told, he never hinted his grievances, nor thwarted his oppressors. They were unwittingly doing good for England, and he was as willing as anxious, to promote any useful measure, by whomsoever introduced. The motion of General Gascoigne might have proved useful to Ireland; yet, on the appeal of the Ministry, did not that country nobly stand forward in the breach; and out from the seventy-five men whom it can freely return, did it not elect sixty-eight reformers, while the other twenty-five members represented not the people, but pounds, shillings, and pence? And yet, did not the Government, notwithstanding this exertion, turn round as traitors, and adopt that very motion of Gascoigne, against which they had thought it necessary to appeal to the people? And when a friend of his in the House had moved that the number of five hundred Members for England be reduced, that Ireland might have the complement, did he not immediately prevail on his friend to withdraw that motion, because he would have no benefit done to Ireland at the expense of England? (Cheers.) After further remarks, proving that the first measure of reform proposed for Ireland was better than those subsequent, particularly with regard to the manner of registering the votes, to the number of elections, &c., he said that he had himself extracted

from the documents of the House of Commons the following, showing the population of each county in Ireland, with the number of forty-shilling and ten-pound freeholders:—

	POPULATION.	FREEHOLDERS.	
		40s.	£10.
1. Down.....	352,571	10,775	1,902
2. Galway.....	394,287	32,055	1,812
3. Limerick.....	233,505	6,714	1,369
4. Antrim.....	314,602	6,236	1,296
5. Armagh.....	220,651	8,419	1,087
6. Monaghan.....	195,532	12,453	946
7. Clare.....	258,262	7,723	930
8. Fermanagh.....	149,555	6,443	920
9. Londonderry ..	222,416	4,457	839
10. Cavan.....	228,050	5,195	781
11. Tyrone.....	302,943	6,468	701
12. Wexford.....	182,991	5,401	697
13. Leitrim.....	141,303	6,101	554
14. Wicklow.....	122,301	835	513
15. Tipperary.....	402,598	6,476	475
16. Roscommon ...	239,903	7,777	470
17. Waterford.....	148,077	5,276	488
18. Longford.....	112,391	1,362	463
19. Cork.....	700,359	2,833	447
20. Kilkenny.....	169,283	2,353	383
21. Louth.....	108,168	2,343	380
22. Westmeath.....	136,799	2,154	366
23. Mayo.....	367,956	23,672	335
24. King's county..	144,029	1,083	318
25. Queen's county	145,843	1,427	303
26. Meath.....	177,023	797	302
27. Sligo.....	171,508	4,551	299
28. Carlow.....	81,576	1,162	193
29. Kildare.....	108,401	496	190
30. Kerry.....	210,000	3,776	178
31. Dublin.....	183,042	2,490	109
32. Donegal.....	298,104	2,310	886

Thus, in a population of seven and a half millions, there will be but a constituency of twenty-five thousand. It had been the boast of Lord Althorp, that England would be represented by one in every eight; but Ireland, by this system, will have represented only one in every two hundred. (Loud cries of "Shame, shame!") And yet, evident as this injustice is, he found but few in the House to aid him in his honest endeavours for Ireland. The Members for Westminster had voted, one against him, and the other not for him. Lord Ebrington, that had on his different motions in favour of the Ministry, anxiously appealed to the Irish members for their granted assistance, chose to be absent when those Irish members might have appealed to him for his. The titled neglected, and the

wealthy and official laughed, at the appeal; and Ireland was to be wronged by those who came in loaded with port and pride, instead of arguments or acknowledgments. But Ireland will trust to the people of England. He had received petitions from places (so numerous, that he was proud the number alone prevented his remembering them) far and near, from the Ridings in the north to the Devizes in the south, praying that a similar measure of reform be granted to Ireland as to England. Thus have the people distinguished themselves from the aristocracy of the House of Commons, and have proved themselves willing to vote for honesty and justice. The ministerial sagacity is wilfully blind; and having eyes they see not—but having ears, they may be made to hear. They have said they have opened the rotten boroughs: so they have—if Dungarvan, having now a constituency of 840, shall retain, as by the bill, only 210, be called opening a rotten borough. But this is reform. (A voice called out, "An Irish reform!") No, thank God (said Mr. O'Connell), however Ireland may be answerable for blunders of the head, she is not for those of the heart. It is neither an English nor an Irish blunder: it is a Whig job: for draw the strings, and raise the curtain, and you will see behind it the Duke of Devonshire. Youghall will be represented by the Duke of Devonshire: for the Commissioners having heard from some antiquated purblind that Youghall had formerly been enwalled to a certain extent by Sir Walter Raleigh, confined the town to that dimension—wholly the property of the Duke; while the suburban districts, which were ample and valuable, and had been purchased by men of trade and of talent, were to be excluded, lest their owners should be represented. So in Bandon, who alternately nominated the member, will the constituency be placed at the disposal solely of the Duke. Yet this is Whig justice and impartiality! And when he had risen to denounce this in the House, he had Sir Robert Peel on one side, in defence of those English

Catholics that have turned traitors to those who worked out their redemption in common with their own and the Protestant Dissenters; and yet only three of whom now voted in favour of the 40s. freeholders that had been disfranchised to purchase their exemption. In England the plan of registration is simple as it is just, and may be done with dispatch, and must be done on demand—else the party has his remedy at law, and may bring his action for 500*l.*, with full costs of suit. Not so in Ireland. For a 10*l.* vote is virtually increased to 20*l.*, by the expenses attending the registration of the electors, who may be refused by the petty judge of the Assizes (assisant barrister), according to his own fancy or pleasure; and who has no means to enforce the production of the deeds by which he is entitled to vote, nor any remedy against an arbitrary decision. Yet this is justice! He himself had known only three acknowledged out of 300, on the most trivial pretences or omissions; yet no remedy could be had. To many of them delay was defeat. So they will be solely at the mercy of their landlords, whether they shall or shall not register, and therefore for whom they shall vote. And landlords, like the Ministers, are "all, all honourable men." Lord Althorp told him, last night, that he would postpone the Irish Bill till Monday next; on which he looked wondrous grave: though inwardly content with the opportunity afforded him for making known in the meantime to the people of England the wrongs of Ireland, and the delinquency of its oppressors and misgovernors. During the process of the bill, he had been assailed by the Tories of England and the Orangemen of Ireland, who voted with Ministers in all their demands—men, who had mourned over Gatton and Sarum, and who had roared for Boroughbridge (laughter), who had sighed for St. Ives, and were in tears for St. Mawes—were now seen colleagueed with Ministers, who gladly were welcomed on this penance for the dereliction from the paths of corruption. Lord John Russell was seen to pair off arm-in-

arm with Captain Gordon (great outcries); Lord Althorp proudly joined Lefroy, and Stanley returned to roost with Peel, while he vainly endeavoured on the Jews' harp to play "The Rogue's March" (great laughter); while all paired off in the same regiment. He then touched on the topics of agitation, and the epithet of "demagogue"—remarked on the fatal distinction sought to be maintained in Ireland for the sinister purposes of misgovernment between the people of that country into religious creeds and differences—blasting the peace of that country, gifted by the creator with so many natural advantages. He proved, ingeniously, that the goods of England had been consumed to a greater extent in America since her Revolution, then during her dependence, asserting, that formerly she had consumed annually to the amount of only one million and a half, but subsequently to the amount of five millions; so the southern part of America had consumed only 500,000*l.* worth, but after freedom had been obtained there, even Mexico alone consumed in one year six millions. So would it be with Ireland, whose prosperity was intimately interwoven with that of England, but whose freedom and liberty would materially accumulate the revenues of Great Britain. It was for the interests of both countries that Ireland should be free: the commodities of Ireland would be interchanged with those of England to an extent unsupported, because unascertained. After an admirable peroration, enforcing his pleas, he was pleased to say that he trusted Englishmen would see that justice done to Ireland which she deserves, and will demand, till she is, like England, "great, glorious, and free." (He concluded amid deafening rounds of applause.)

The motion was unanimously carried. Major REVELL then moved—"That this meeting reflect with deep regret upon the long series of partial, unjust, and oppressive measures to which Ireland has been subjected by a succession of English governments; and that this regret has been changed into

"indignation by the fresh and galling insult offered to that patient and generous people in the provisions of what is called the Irish Reform Bill, devised by the present Administration, and urged forward against the repeated, firm, and serious remonstrances of the universal people of Ireland, as well as the whole of her popular representatives—the British Parliament."

Mr. BURNARD, in seconding it, said that to Ireland the English were indebted for their Unions, and their determined demands for reform that had been ushered in by the Catholic Relief Bill.

The motion was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks was moved to Mr. O'CONNELL, who briefly returned thanks, after three times three.

The meeting subsequently adjourned.

CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL.

As I mentioned in my last, I shall, for reasons there stated, hold a festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, seven miles from WINCHESTER (on the road to WHITCHURCH), on the 7th of July. I invite, as my guests, all those who signed the petition for reform, which was carried by JOSEPH MASON to be presented to the King at Brighton. I request Mr. Diddams, of SUTTON SCOTNEY, to make this known to them all, and the list of them all he will find in the last *Register*; and most of them must have masters of some sort or other; I beg those masters to have the goodness to give them the day for themselves, which I shall deem an obligation conferred upon myself. It is not my object, and it never has been, to set men against their masters; I have been a master ever since I was a man; I was first a master over soldiers; and since that I have been a master over servants; and I have always exacted strict obedience, while at the same time I have always taken care that the person to obey obeyed with a full belly. I have long been warning farmers of their danger. The danger at last came, and then I was reproached and prosecuted as the cause of the danger. Why,

my father was a farmer, though a small one; I was born and bred up amongst farmers; I have always delighted in their pursuits; and how can my feelings towards them be other than those of good will? but I cannot, without abandoning my nature, without forgetting all that I was taught in my childhood, without setting at nought every precept and line of the word of God, hold my peace, while those who create all the food and drink, and fuel, and raiment, and lodging, are upon the verge of perishing with hunger and with cold.

I request Mr. DELLER of ANDOVER, to have about a hundred gallons of good beer at SUTTON SCOTNEY, on or before the 6th of July, and to place it where Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS shall appoint. I will take down, as I said before, my NOTTINGHAM HAM, which weighs seventy pounds, and I am sure that there will not want a butcher in London to give us a couple of fat sheep weighing a hundred pounds a piece. Half a hundred of flour will make us a score of plum puddings, and the devil is in it if there is not a grocer in London who will give us twenty pounds of plums. There is surely a miller in Hampshire who will send to Mr. DIDDAMS a couple of bushels of flour, on or before the 3d of July, in order that he may get it made into bread. Please God we will have some corn-puddings, even at the risk of having the "*murrin, or the yellur janders.*" When I was in the North, I did not forget the Chopsticks of the hard parishes. One Yorkshire clothier gave me a pair of blankets for Mrs MASON; another gave me a pair of blankets for poor COOKE, the father of the youth who was hanged for hitting BINGHAM BARING, and doing him no bodily harm. One manufacturer of LANCASHIRE gave me cotton to make gowns for twenty women, and frocks for ten girls, and another manufacturer of Lancashire printed the cotton. One of these gowns I shall give to Mrs. MASON of BULLINGTON, one to Mrs. COOKE, the mother of poor HENRY COOKE of *Micheldever*, one to Mrs. CARTER of SUTTON SCOTNEY, with two

or three frocks for her girls; two I shall send, with two pair of cotton stockings, which I got at *Nottingham*, and with two bonnet ribands that I got at *Coven-*
try, to the two young women who had their hair chopped off by the hired overseer of NINFIELD in Sussex, lamenting that I cannot split myself in two, and do the same thing, in the neighbourhood of Battle as I am about to do at SUTTON SCOTNEY, feeling myself to be under everlasting obligations to the kind and virtuous people in that neighbourhood, who I hope will be satisfied with the reasons which I have given for holding my festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY. The other gowns and frocks I shall give to the wives, daughters, or mothers, of any of the petitioners, who were transported or any way punished; and I hereby request Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, to make a list of all these, and to be prepared to give me his advice as to the distribution.

Besides the above business, and the eating and drinking; besides the advice which I shall have to give to the farmers upon the subject of the approaching elections, and the explanations that I shall have to give to the labourers, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and as to the manner in which they will be benefited by it; besides these, there is an important matter for us to settle upon; namely, the putting of a tombstone over the grave of HENRY COOKE, having engraven on it the history of his death, and naming all the parties, having, in any way whatever, a hand in the transaction. Simply stating the undeniable facts, leaving all commentary to the hearts of the beholders.

I hereby request Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS to be thinking about the practicability of providing tents, or covering of some sort. Perhaps it might be best to divide the party, placing five or six in a house, during the time of dinner, and drinking after dinner. A considerable party, of course, could be entertained in the public-houses if an arrangement could be made with the innkeepers for the purpose. There may be many friends come from a distance. I should hope that the farmers hard by would

give us stable room for a short space of time. But I request Mr. DIDDAMS to write to me on *Sunday* next at latest, giving his opinion as to all these matters. I have received the following letter in consequence of my article on the subject last week:—

Landguard, Isle of Wight, 12th June, 1832.

SIR,

In reading your *Register* to-day I find it is your intention to dine with the labourers of SUTTON SCOTNEY, on the 7th July, health permitting. I shall do myself the pleasure of joining your company. Your ideas with respect to showing our demonstrations of joy at the defeat of the boroughmongers coincides with ours—the farmers and tradesmen of the parish of Brading. We have made a very liberal subscription for a dinner to be given to *all the labourers of the parish*, to take place on BRADINGDOWN, next Wednesday. Of course we, the farmers, will dine with them, and will take the opportunity of explaining to them the *nature* of this great measure.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD SMITH.

This is what the farmers are doing in a great many places, and it is what they will do anywhere, where wisdom and justice prevail in their breasts. At BATTLE and the neighbourhood they have raised a hundred pounds for the purpose! And am I at last destined to behold that which I have been as anxious for almost as for the preservation of my life; namely, to see the employers and the employed cordially reconciled to one another, all being convinced that their interests are mutual and inseparable? We shall have a goodly company, I dare say, at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and I trust that we shall so act our part as to put our insolent enemies to the blush. I beseech the electors of Hampshire, and particularly of WINCHESTER, not to promise their votes to anybody till after the SUTTON SCOTNEY festival.

WM. COBBETT.

MEETING OF THE LIVERY OF LONDON.

To agree on pledges to be put to the Candidates for seats in the reformed Parliament.

NOTHING, for a long time, has given me greater pleasure than to perceive the following publication put forth, from the electors of the City of London. This *Register* will be gone to the press before the Lord Mayor's determination, and especially before the result of the meeting can be known. However, it is high time that something were done in this way, and from no source can it spring so properly as from the *united Livery and new electors of the City of London*.

A meeting of Liverymen of London took place on Tuesday at the Guildhall Chambers, for the purpose of considering whether any, and what, PLEDGES should be exacted from candidates intending to offer themselves for the representation of the City, at the next general election; when various resolutions were proposed with a view of submitting those that were agreed to, to a general meeting of the electors of the City. After a long discussion, it was resolved to refer the several resolutions as well as various suggestions to a SUB-COMMITTEE, to consist of *seven liverymen* and *seven new electors* under the Reform Bill, with instructions to draw up such resolutions as would best meet the object they had in view. The sub-committee submitted their resolutions to the general committee, which re-assembled yesterday at Guildhall, and they were finally agreed upon. A deputation was then appointed to wait upon the Lord Mayor to solicit his lordship's permission to have the *use of Guildhall* to hold a general meeting of the electors of the City, for the purpose of submitting to their consideration the resolutions, and his lordship has appointed to receive the deputation tomorrow morning.

RESOLVED, 1st. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner

agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

2nd. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

3rd. That, therefore, it appears to this meeting, that those to whom the law now commits the sacred trust of the power of choosing members, who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously careful to choose no man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed, that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

4th. That, in order to obtain the best possible ground of such reliance, every candidate ought, to give the pledges following; to wit,

That I will neglect nothing in my power to cause, in the very first session, a total abolition of the tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; and these having been repealed, I pledge myself to the immediate consideration of a revision of the Corn Bill; and I further pledge myself to do everything within my power to cause the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions, and a repeal of that daring act of usurpation called the Septennial Act: and I will, at all times and in all things, act conformably to the wishes of a majority of my constituents, deliberately expressed; or I will, at their request, resign to them the trust with which they have honoured me.

5. That we, the electors of the City of London, pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, that we will give our votes to no man who will not give the above pledges, and that we earnestly recommend to our fellow-electors, in every part of the kingdom, to make, and strictly to adhere to, the same determination.

COBBETT LECTURES.

I HAVE taken the LITTLE PLAYHOUSE, called the SANS SOUCI Theatre, in the north-east corner of Leicester Fields, for the purpose of delivering SIX LECTURES, on six successive

Fridays, beginning with FRIDAY NEXT, the 29th of June. My object is to do my utmost duty to prepare the people to take steps, so as *not to be cheated* out of the fruits of their exertions to obtain REFORM. And my FIRST LECTURE will be,

On the SORT OF MEN to be chosen.

On the duty of Representatives to obey the INSTRUCTIONS of their constituents.

And on the PLEDGES, which all voters ought to insist on from every man for whom they vote.

The house is very commodious and proper for the purpose. The lecture will begin at EIGHT O'CLOCK in the evening, and close about TEN O'CLOCK. The prices are, BOXES 1s. 6d. PIT 1s. GALLERY 6d.

N.B. I am delighted with the apparent resolution of the people of MARYLEBONE to have TRADESMEN for Representatives.

USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

At the request of a great many persons, in some cases more verbally, and in others by letter, I repeat the following article, which was first published in October last.

What I am now going to communicate will do more good in one single day, than Lord Brougham and Vaux's books will ever do till the last moment that a sheet of them shall be kept out of the hands of the trunk-maker, or preserved by accident from still less honourable uses. To a very considerable part of grown-up men, the complaint which is called RUPTURE, is but too well known, and the frequency of the exhibition of trusses in the shop windows, proves to us not only the extent of the prevalence of the complaint, but also the importance attached to its cure. The complaint is purely mechanical; it consists of the dislocation, or displacing a part of the human frame; and purely mechanical is the remedy. The remedy, and the sole remedy consists of a truss, as it is called, to keep constantly in its place the part displaced. There are a great variety of trusses, some

better than others; that is, more effectual, and less inconvenient; and, to great numbers of persons, it is of great importance to know which sort is the best; and I, being in a situation to communicate that knowledge to my readers, know it to be my bounden duty to do it.

Twenty-two years ago, I being out a shooting, jumped from a bank, full ten feet high, into the field below, and thereby produced by the violence of the shock, something that gave me very great pain, but of the nature of which I knew nothing. I came to London, and applied to the late Mr. Chevalier, the surgeon, who directed me to get a truss, which I did. And here I gladly stop to acknowledge the only good I, and I, believe, any other human creature ever received at the hands of old Daddy Burdett. Having told him what had brought me to town, "Well," said he, "when you have put a truss on, never leave it off on the belief that you no longer want it." A precept which he made effectual by relating to me the cause of the sudden and premature death of Francis Duke of Bedford, who thinking his rupture gone for ever, threw his truss aside, but, in playing at fives, a sudden twist of his body brought on the complaint again, and sending for a surgeon to London, instead of calling in him of the village, a mortification took place, and he slept with his fathers in a few hours. Many times, and especially in hot weather, I have by this advice, and especially by the illustration of Daddy Burdett, been prevented from risking the fate of the Duke of Bedford.

My complaint has been of very little consequence to me, except at particular times. I have ridden on horseback, and done every thing that I should have done, if nothing at all had ailed me. But *coughing* is very untoward in such a case; and I have at times, especially in November and April, a *constitutional* and *hereditary* cough, which I have had in every year that I can remember of my life, and which is always more violent and of longer duration in London than anywhere else. It is not a cough of the lungs but merely of the

throat; but it causes a violent shaking of the whole body, and at these times I have always, until May last, experienced considerable inconvenience, and occasionally a great deal of pain. I have found it painful (and it is a nasty gnawing villanous pain!) to stand for an hour or two at a time; and this sometimes annoyed me exceedingly during my lecturing expeditions. When I expected the Whig trial to come on, in May last, (Oh! the manifold blessings of that trial!) the only thing that gave me uneasiness was the fear that I should not be able to stand for three or four hours, to lay the lash on well upon Denman and his masters, I having at that time one of my periodical coughs. In order to get rid of this fear which harassed me continually, I resolved to go to Bolt Court, and never to quit it again, till I had found out some one to furnish me with a truss which should be efficient for its purpose, even in these seasons of coughing: as I was going I amused myself in reading Mr. Carpenter's Political Letter; in this paper I read the advertisement of Mr. Coles, truss-maker, of Charing Cross; and as I had tried seven or eight before, I at once sent for Mr. Coles; and the result has been that my complaint is as completely removed as if I had never known any thing of the kind; and could I have forgotten the precept of the venerable Daddy Burdett, and more especially the fate of the Duke of Bedford, I should have thrown away the truss months ago. Oh! how rejoiced was I when I felt that I should be able to stand at my ease for the hours that I destined for the belabouring of the Whigs! I could not (if I had had a cough), without the aid of Mr. Coles, have given them the four hours and a half, which were worth more to them (if they turn them to good account) than all the rest of their lives. I should have mentioned this matter before, but my April cough was nearly gone before Mr. Coles had done the truss, and I was not visited with another till late in September; and I wanted a fair trial before I spoke of this matter. I have now had the trial, and it would be a very shame-

ful neglect of my duty towards my neighbour, for me not to tell the public that I find the remedy perfect, and that I can now scarcely perceive whether, with or without a cough, the smallest signs of my ever having had such a complaint. But I am not here in doing bare justice to Mr. Coles, doing him an injury, by driving from his shop the tax and the tithe-eaters, who will have a "prejudice" (that is a villany) against him for the good he has done to me? No; hang it; they like their worthless lives too well for that. However, my sensible readers, pay you (if you should need it) attention to what I have said; and let the tithe and tax-eaters creep along through life, with all the twichings and achings of this harassing complaint, and under all the pains and penalties inflicted on them by the awkward, heavy, cumbrous, and still inefficient things which bungling mechanics put round their bodies. One thing bear in mind; and that is, that this is a matter with which surgeons and physicians have nothing to do, any more than they have with the providing us with suitable SHOES OR COATS.

As Mr. Chevalier told me, the complaint is truly mechanical; and the application of the remedy must depend on the mechanic solely, just as much as the fitting of a coat must depend on the tailor. Here, however, more cleverness is required; the mechanic must be able to judge well as to the degree of force required; and he must have great ability in causing the pressure to bear in a proper manner. The moment I heard Mr. Coles speak upon the subject, I was sure he was the man: his observations showed a knowledge of his business; and the result has most amply verified my opinion. I never saw Mr. Coles before, and I have never seen him since, except to call and thank him. What I have said here of him is but justice, which I do with very great pleasure, while, as to the rest, I am only discharging a duty to the public in general, and to my readers in particular. I add this piece of advice to the people in LONDON not to write for a truss any sooner than for a coat or a pair of breeches; not to

plague a surgeon to order one; but to go to the mechanic in person, and let him fit the force and form to the necessity of the case.

WM. COBBETT.

TO FLOWER-FRIENDS,

AT BOLTON AND BLACKBURN.

If I had, during the almost-four months that I spent in the North, last winter, done nothing but collect the *Auriculas*, *Polyanthuses*, *Pinks* and *Carnations*, which I got at these two towns, I should have thought the time well spent. The two former, though they had to undergo so severe a removal, and at so late a season, blowed pretty strongly, and were very fine; but the *Pinks*, which are now in bloom (20th June) are far more beautiful than any that I ever saw before. I have, all my life long, been a flower admirer, and a flower cultivator, from the time that I used to carry dirt, in the lap of my little smock-frock, to put it on the ledge of a sand-rock for primroses and violets and cowslips to grow in; and I have never seen such beautiful flowers as these pinks, from BLACKBURN and BOLTON; which, however, I cannot look at and smell without feeling inexpressible disgust at the thought, that the public-spirited towns, from which they come, should be insulted with the attempt at imposing upon them, as representatives, such men as BOWRING and TORRENS, two *tax-eaters*, and two advocates of that Bill which exposes the *dead bodies of the poor to be SOLD and cut up and flung out to be eaten by dogs*. Foh! for God's sake, let not the sweet odour of these beautiful Blackburn and Bolton pinks be over-powered in my nostrils by the results of greedily-devoured taxes and *Greek-pies*, and by the stench of poor men's putrid bodies, chopped up in virtue of *Wharburton's horrible bill*, which bill was assented to by TORRENS and even eulogized by BOWRING; by the former in his place in Parliament, and, by the latter, in the *Westminster Review*, of which he is the editor! What! and am I doomed to see Mr. DEWHURST, who obligingly

got me these very pinks at BLACKBURN; am I doomed to see him the advocate of this BOWRING, who is actually in the pay of the Government, or was so but only the other day, and who of course is ready to be so again! A good man, as Mr. DEWHURST always has been, may commit error from deception; but such a man, when undeceived, will never persevere in the error.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

DAVIDSON, W., Water-lane, Lower Thames-street, wine-merchant.
DAVIS, W., Launceston, Cornwall, common-carrier.
LASKEY, S., Sidmouth-street, St. Pancras, cabinet-maker.
SOWERBY, T., Blandford-street, Manchester-square, upholsterer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DEPREE, G. J., Savoy-wharf, Strand, paviour.

BANKRUPTS.

FORD, T., Llandrinio, Montgomeryshire, inn-keeper.
GUMMOW, W., and E. Edmunds, Duke-st., Portland-place, furnishing ironmongers.
HARPER, T., Crucifix-lane, Bermondsey, maltster.
MINETT, W., Spring-gardens, furniture-broker.
MORRIS, T., Westbromwich, Staffordshire, iron-roller-dealer.
RYALLS, J., Fleet-lane, hardwareman.
SKIDMORE, J., Kirton, Lincolnshire, bobbin-maker.
SMITH, H., Salisbury-street, Strand, wine-merchant.
SPARROW, J., Tettenhall, Staffords., maltster.
TAYLOR, J., Liverpool, car-proprietor.
WOOD, H., Bristol, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MARSHALL, T. B., Glasgow, calico-printer.

TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

LEACH, J., Warrington, Lancashire, hosier.
TEMPERLEY, N., Westgate, Northumberland, ship-owner.

BANKRUPTS.

BARBER, J. Bideford, Devon, grocer.
CUNNINGHAM, A., Liverpool, bricklayer.
HOBDAY, B., Edgbaston, near Birmingham, factor.
HOLMES, T. V., Gloucester, corn-merchant.
HOPKINS, J., Dover-road, Southwark, and Artillery-street, Bermondsey, currier.
JAMES, J., Upper Seymour-street, Euston-square, coal-merchant.

JOY, R. jun., Covent-garden, hotel-keeper.
PIERCE, C., and J. Woodward, Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, rail-road-makers.
PIKE, B. W., Duncan-terrace, City-road, ornamental-paper-manufacturer.
POLLARD, E. H., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, corn-merchant.
RICHARDS, N., Brudenell-place, New North-road, Hoxton, and London-wall, carpenter.
RITCHIE, W., Greenwich, Hope-wharf, Deptford, & Bull-stairs-wharf, Surrey, coal-merch.
SAUNDERS, J. F. and C. A., George-yard, Lombard-street merchants.
SHEASBY, J., Snitterfield, Warwick, victualler.
SOUTHON, A., Wittersham, Kent, grocer.
WHITAKER, W., Bath, broker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DAVIDSON, J., Edinburgh, ironmonger.
DUMBRECK, J., Marfield, Edinburgh, gun-powder-manufacturer.
HAMILTON, J. and Co., Glasgow, agents.
JENKINES, W., Glasgow, coal-merchant.
KERR, W., Glasgow, calenderer.
M'CULLUM, B. F. and Brothers, Arthurlie, Renfrewshire, and Glasgow, dyers.
SCLANDERS, A. & Son, Glasgow, grain-mer.
STEWART, T., Edinburgh, corn-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 18.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of each kind of English grain, as also Irish and foreign flour, and seeds, from all quarters, have been limited; of English flour, foreign barley, and Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, and oats, moderately good.

In this day's market, which was, for Monday, rather thinly attended, both by London and country buyers, fine wheat, as also barley, was in steady demand, at fully last week's prices; but with the middling and inferior kinds of wheat, as also oats, beans, peas, and malt, trade was very dull, at, in the whole, a somewhat reduced currency. As, however, that day's highest figures were obtained in some instances, and nothing appeared to be doing in any article, of the most inferior quality, we cannot alter that day's quotations. The prices of flour were stationary. In seeds so little was doing that the quotations may be considered as nominal.

Wheat	51s. to 65s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	24s. to 28s.
— fine	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	25s. to 27s.
— Poland	23s. to 25s.
— Feed	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 47s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new ... 49s. to 52s.
 Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to —s.
 Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 0d. to 75s. per barl.
 Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 74s.
 — Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 64s.
 — Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 50s.

SMITHFIELD.—June 18.

This day's supply of beasts, about 300 of which were grass-fattened runts, was, as is usual in June, limited, though more numerous than was that of this day se'nnight; of small stock, moderately good. Prime Scots and Norfolk homebreds, in both of which there was a manifest falling-off in quality, but which formed a considerable proportion of the supply, sold somewhat briskly. Durhams, Lincolns, and other large beasts, which were exceedingly few in number, as also Townsended cows, which were rather numerous, very tardily, at a depression of 2d. per stone: with prime South Down sheep, prime lambs, not exceeding 10lbs. per quarter, and prime small calves, the trade was somewhat brisk; with prime large coarse-woolled sheep and lambs, and those of middling and inferior quality, of all breeds, as also porkers, very dull, at Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,152; sheep and lambs, 13,460; calves, 251; pigs, 200.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 22.

The arrivals this week are moderate, the market dull, with the prices the same as on Monday.

ELECTION FOR THE CITY OF LONDON.

TO THE

LIVERYMEN, FREEMEN, AND CITIZENS OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,—Eighteen months since, I relinquished an extensive business to devote my time and attention to the duties of a public office—that of Alderman of the Ward in which I reside, and to which honourable situation a majority of all the Freemen had twice chosen me within twelve months, and which duties I am prevented from fulfilling, by the combined efforts and injustice of the Court of Aldermen, for no reason except that I am a Reformer.

Yes, Gentlemen, I am not accused of being a reformer of six months standing; not a reformer when it became the fashion to be such; but when to be a reformer subjected you to incarceration, without accusers, in one of the dungeons of Sidmouth, or Castlereagh. Then, as now, I was an independent labourer in the cause of reform, and upon all occasions, a zealous defender of the rights of my fellow-citizens.

The city of London has long been repre-

sented by the nominees of the present Court of Aldermen; the honour I propose to receive at your hands, is to be chosen by you, one of your representatives, in spite of the united efforts of the Court of Aldermen against me.

I recollect happy England, before the boroughmongers commenced their crusade against the people of France. I have since witnessed tax added to tax, until our once rich and happy country is no longer fit for an honest man to reside in, who earns his bread by his labour.

The people, harassed by a multiplicity of laws they can neither understand nor obey, and loaded with a multiplicity of taxes they are unable to pay, at length the whole nation, aroused by accumulated oppressions, called out in almost one voice for reform; and then, and not till then, reform is granted.

Never shall it be said the citizens of London are less enlightened or liberal than their fellow-countrymen, and that they will still continue to elect the nominees of their city House of Lords, the present aristocratic, yet imbecile Court of Aldermen.

My fellow-citizens, it is the remedial measures consequent upon the passing of the Reform Bill, by which you are to be relieved, and with a view of taking an active part in producing such measures, that I solicit the honour of representing you in the people's, or Commons House of Parliament.

To promote by every means an abolition, or reduction of your taxes, and an amelioration in the oppressive tithe and church-laws, and also in your barbarous criminal laws, it is that I solicit the honour of being one of the representatives for the city of London.

Should I be one of the persons of your choice, I shall at once devote my time to the important duties which will devolve upon me, and at all times fearlessly discharge them: to have your approbation and esteem is the greatest reward I promise to myself, and to be elected by the spontaneous and unbought votes of my fellow-citizens, the highest honour that can be conferred upon me as a representative.

Annual Parliaments are the birthright of Englishmen, and if we cannot obtain them by law, as far as I am concerned you shall have them in practice, for at the end of twelve months (unless Parliament be then sitting) I shall resign the trust into your hands again, and upon no other terms would the office be acceptable to me.

I shall very shortly have the pleasure of personally waiting upon you to solicit your votes, until which time, believe me,

Gentlemen, Liverymen, Freemen, and
 Fellow Citizens of London,

Most faithfully and respectfully yours,
MICHAEL SCALES.

44, Aldgate,
 4th June, 1832.

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